

The Taliban's Northern Front / Tate Modern Rising

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TURKEY'S HIDDEN WAR





WHO KNOWS THE OTTO MAN?



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FEATURES

26 Borderline Insanity

The sometimes hysterical debate about immigration reform is missing one important element: the truth. *by Kurt Eichenwald*

34 Turkey's Hidden War

Last year, the government seemed close to striking a historic peace deal with the country's Kurdish rebels. Why are armed militants now battling soldiers on city streets? *by Owen Matthews*

COVER CREDIT: ILLUSTRATION BY AL MURPHY

DEPARTMENTS

BIG SHOTS

- 4 **Ankara, Turkey**
Dying for Peace
- 6 **Washington, D.C.**
Poisoned Chalice
- 8 **Ramallah, West Bank**
Intifada Again?
- 10 **Lesbos, Greece**
Hand of God

PAGE ONE

- 12 **Afghanistan**
The Kunduz Knockout
- 16 **Oil**
Shell Shocked

+

TURKEY'S TROUBLES:
Violence springs up so easily in the country because its roots run so deep.

- 19 **Poverty**
Psalms for the Poor
- 20 **Refugees**
The Other Refugee Crisis
- 22 **Politics**
Lady of the Valley
- 25 **Conventional Wisdom Watch**

NEW WORLD

- 44 **Innovation**
Only Your Brain Can Prevent Residential Fires
- 46 **Wildlife**
Vaquitas on the Verge
- 50 **Hemp**
The Unsmokable Grass

DOWNTIME

- 54 **Art**
Tate Expectations
- 58 **Movies**
Venus in Films
- 62 **Music**
Never Take It Easy
- 64 **Rewind**
20 Years



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BIG SHOTS

TURKEY

Dying for Peace

Ankara, Turkey—A relative cries over the coffin of Uygur Coskun, 32, who was killed in twin suicide bombings on October 10 in Ankara. Turkish authorities said at least 97 people were killed at a rally of pro-Kurdish activists calling for an end to fighting between the military and Kurdish armed groups. Other estimates put the number of dead as high as 128, with hundreds wounded. The government blamed ISIS. The attack comes at a critical time for Turkey, which is facing snap elections on November 1 and an increase in violence between security forces and Kurdish militants. Kurdish politicians blamed the government for the attacks.



EMRAH GUREL



U.S.A.

Poisoned Chalice

Washington, D.C.—House Majority Leader Kevin McCarthy laughs off a question as he explains his decision to pull out of the Republican caucus vote to pick a new House speaker on October 8. McCarthy was considered the leading candidate to replace John Boehner, who quit after months of pressure from Tea Party members who wanted him to take a firmer stand against President Barack Obama. After McCarthy's surprise withdrawal, Boehner postponed the vote as Republicans scrambled to draft Wisconsin Representative Paul Ryan, who said he wasn't interested. That leaves Boehner as speaker indefinitely as lawmakers face several important fiscal issues in the coming weeks.



JONATHAN ERNST



WEST BANK

Intifada Again?

Ramallah, West Bank—A Palestinian throws a Molotov cocktail during clashes with Israeli troops at the crossing between the West Bank city and Jerusalem on October 6. After a spate of lone-wolf stabbing attacks by Palestinians on Israeli citizens and weeks of unrest at the Al-Aqsa mosque compound, Israel banned Muslim men under the age of 50 from entering the mosque compound in Jerusalem's Old City. Israeli troops, responding to protests in Gaza on October 9, shot six Palestinians dead, hours after a Jewish man stabbed four Arab men in an unrelated attack in the southern city of Dimona, Israel. The surge in violence and complete lack of progress in peace talks has sparked fears of a third intifada.



MAJDI MOHAMMED

GREECE

Hand of God

Lesbos, Greece—Refugees and migrants reach the coast of this tiny Greek island on October 11, after crossing the Aegean Sea from Turkey. The number of people arriving here has surged in October in what officials attribute to efforts to make the trip before the weather turns cold in winter. According to the island's Ministry of Interior, nearly 30,000 people landed here during the first week of October alone, adding to the 160,000 who arrived in September. Most of the new arrivals are from Syria, with large contingents from Afghanistan, Iraq, Eritrea and North African nations. European governments are under pressure to help genuine refugees while limiting the number of economic migrants entering the European Union.



ANTONIO MASTIELLO







P A G E O N E

REFUGEES

RUSSIA

AFGHANISTAN

POLITICS

OIL

POVERTY

THE KUNDUZ KNOCKOUT

The Taliban's assault on the northern Afghan city was just the start of their push into a region long considered a government stronghold

THE PEOPLE of Taloqan are trapped. "We are hearing the sounds of the Taliban, we can hear gunshots in the middle of the night," says engineering student Abobaker Seyar, speaking on a crackling phone line from the city of 73,000 people in the north of Afghanistan. "My family is worried. We are in danger, but we cannot go to Kabul because the roads are blocked."

Taloqan is an hour's drive east from the city of Kunduz, which Taliban insurgents, after multiple attempts, seized on September 28. In the chaos that followed, U.S. air forces mistakenly bombed a Doctors Without Borders hospital on October 3, killing at least 22 people. The Taliban remain in parts of the city and have pushed into other districts, getting ever closer to Taloqan. "They are so close to [us], they are attacking, and the people are very worried," says Seyar. "We don't have any security. We don't have any military. The electricity has been destroyed,

and the schools and mosques are closed."

The amount of territory the Taliban control in Afghanistan tends to ebb and flow as they launch frequent fresh offensives, but Thomas Ruttig, co-director and co-founder of the research organization the Afghanistan Analysts Network, notes that it has "increased its activities and scope of territory covered almost year-by-year since 2001." According to the U.N., the Taliban's reach in Afghanistan is now at its widest since 2001. Of the country's 34 provinces, 27 are believed to be facing a high or extreme threat level from the Taliban. What sets the current offensive apart, however, is that the group is showing more ambition and has altered its strategy. "This time around, the Taliban is targeting urban spaces, whereas previously it was going for rural and largely remote areas," says Michael Kugelman, senior program associate for South Asia at the Woodrow Wilson Center, a Washington, D.C.-based policy

BY
MIRREN GIDDA
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OLD GUARD:
Afghan security
forces and volun-
teer militias take a
break on their way
to Kunduz to fight
the Taliban.

forum focused on global issues.

The fall of Kunduz—home to 157,000 people—seemed to be a sign not only of the Taliban's new intent but also of their capabilities. On October 4, the group launched an attack on Maimana, the capital of nearby Faryab province and home to 84,000 people. Government forces repelled the Taliban fighters, but on October 8, the Taliban claimed to have taken the districts of Garziwan and Pashtun Kot in Faryab. This focus on the north also marks a geographical refocusing for the Taliban, whose strongholds traditionally lie in the south and the east. According to the Long War Journal, a website that reports on the wars following the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, of the 11 far northern areas the Taliban are believed to hold, nine were taken or retaken recently. These gains pose two questions: Why the change in strategy, and how are the Taliban making progress in what's traditionally a government stronghold?

In northeast Afghanistan is Badakshan province, which extends, fingerlike, along the border with Tajikistan until it touches western China. There the Taliban, according to the Long War Journal, currently holds three districts. To the west of Badakshan is Takhar, whose capital is Taloqan. And to the west of Takhar is Baghlan province, which sits directly south of Kunduz. The Afghanistan Analysts Network describes one district of Baghlan, home to an estimated 70,000 people, as "Taliban-infested."

The Taliban's presence in these four provinces makes economic sense. The roads here constitute one of three major smuggling routes in Afghanistan for the country's vast illicit opium and heroin production business. The route leads through Central Asia to Russia and the rest of Europe. According to the U.N. Analytical Support and Sanctions Monitoring Team, drug smuggling is a major source of revenue for the Taliban.

A presence in the north also grants the Taliban sway over an area of increasing geopolitical importance. "Northern Afghanistan is the gateway to Central Asia—an energy-rich region where a new 'great game' is being played out by China, Russia, the U.S. and other nations," says Kugelman. "By building up a stronghold in northern Afghanistan, the Taliban can impact major geopolitical trends in an area of great international import." A base in the north also keeps the Taliban close to allies in Central Asia. In August, the Islamic Jihad Union, a splinter group of the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan, announced



THE FALL OF KUNDUZ SEEMED TO BE A SIGN NOT ONLY OF THE TALIBAN'S NEW INTENT BUT ALSO OF THEIR CAPABILITIES.

that its fighters in Kunduz had sworn loyalty to the Taliban, according to the Long War Journal. And later the IJU said that they had fought in the assault on Kunduz.

The push into the north is also giving the Taliban a propaganda boost. The region is traditionally considered home to ethnic Tajiks, Uzbeks and the Shia Hazaras, all united in opposition to the predominantly Pashtun Taliban. By showing they can take districts in the north, as well as a major city, the Taliban seem to be demonstrating the full

LEFT BEHIND: A member of the Afghan security forces walks past the body of a Taliban fighter after government forces launched a counter-offensive to take back the city.



extent of their growing power. “The psychology of the Taliban taking Kunduz is huge,” says Vanda Felbab-Brown, senior fellow in the Center for 21st Century Security and Intelligence in the Foreign Policy program at the Brookings Institution, a think tank in Washington, D.C. Speaking to *Newsweek* from Kabul, she adds, “[Kunduz’s] impact is far bigger than the Taliban’s push in Musa Qala [Helmand province] this year or last year.”

Who’s to blame for this northern surge? Waiting anxiously in Puli Khumri, the capital of Baghlan, civil society activist Atef Arefyan thinks he has the answer. “There aren’t enough security forces in Baghlan,” says Arefyan, who worked for the Afghanistan Independent Election Commission during the 2005 Afghan parliamentary elections and the Electoral Complaints Commission during the presidential and parliamentary elections in 2009 and 2010, respectively. “We asked Kabul to send more forces, but none have arrived.” Arefyan is ready to flee should the Taliban come any closer. He says that if Taliban fighters find him and identify him as a former employee of two electoral commissions, they will kill him. He says they are now just three miles away.

The Taliban’s assault on Kunduz came on the eve of Afghan President Ashraf Ghani’s one-year anniversary in power and appeared to be timed to emphasize the weaknesses of the current administration. Critics have noted that Ghani has yet to appoint a defense minister. On July 4, the Afghan parliament rejected Ghani’s third nominee for the role, indicating, perhaps, that he has little control of the parliament.

Parliamentary discord isn’t Afghanistan’s only concern. According to the Berlin-based watchdog group Transparency International, corruption is a major problem in the country. In 2014, the organization placed Afghanistan’s public sector third from last in its global Corruption Perceptions Index. On December 4, a day after the report was published, Ghani told delegates at a conference in London, “You, our partners, do not need to remind us that corruption is a problem.”

Afghanistan’s security forces have come under particular criticism. “There are serious problems of corruption and combat motivation among Afghan security forces, especially the police,” says Stephen Biddle, adjunct senior fellow for defense policy at the Council on Foreign Relations in New York. Following reports that government forces apparently abandoned Kunduz, Ghani said on October 1 that “those who have neglected their duties will be punished.”

For now, Kabul has some valuable allies in its war against the Taliban. U.S. and NATO troops maintain a continued presence in the country,

though the latter now only train, advise and assist. While U.S. forces are carrying out bombing raids against the Taliban, the number of troops in the country has fallen, down to 9,800 from a high of 100,000 in 2011. The U.S. has also reduced its number of airstrikes in Afghanistan.

Those U.S. strikes can mean the difference between victory and defeat. U.S. bombing attacks on Taliban forces in Kunduz and Badakhshan prevented more of the north from falling into Taliban hands and allowed Afghan forces to retake much of Kunduz, says Felbab-Brown. “Significant reductions in U.S. assistance in troops or intel and air support will greatly increase the chances that major successes of the Taliban...will happen again,” she adds.

U.S. forces are scheduled to leave Afghanistan at the end of 2016. The withdrawal would inevitably reduce the government’s defensive capabilities, and it could give the Taliban the expectation that they will face even less opposition once the U.S. has left. Scheduled withdrawals, Biddle says, can have a secondary effect of postponing settlement talks. Knowing that U.S. troops will be out of the country soon, the Taliban are likely to wait and see what the consequences of full withdrawal are before going to the negotiating table with serious intent.

This leaves the Ghani government in a difficult position as it begins its second year. Buoyed by their initial success, the Taliban show no sign of giving up on northern Afghanistan. According to the *Long War Journal*, the group is still contesting 11 districts in Badakhshan, Baghlan, Kunduz and Takhar, as well as 26 others across Afghanistan.

Increasingly, this will be a fight between Afghan forces and the Taliban. Though the U.S. is willing to provide some support, the Afghan government can no longer rely on the international intervention it received in former years. But in order to combat the insurgents, the administration will need to improve its security forces, which Kugelman describes as “not up for the task.” When the estimated 500 Taliban militants stormed Kunduz, thousands of Afghan troops fled. As the Taliban now turn their attention to regions elsewhere in the north, the government will need to ensure that the country’s protectors stand their ground. ■



SHELL SHOCKED

The oil giant is reeling after pulling out from the Arctic, but locals and environmentalists are thrilled

EARLIER this month, Shell's tumultuous Arctic drilling campaign came to an abrupt and costly end. In a written statement, the company announced the cessation of its offshore Alaska activities "for the foreseeable future"—at a loss of billions of dollars. This both stunned and thrilled critics, many of whom worried that the seven-year effort to stop Shell was dead in July, when the Obama administration approved the company's permits to drill.

But the truth is, this was a long time coming. Over the past several years, in response to lawsuits by environmental groups and Alaska Natives, public pressure for greater safety following the BP Deepwater Horizon disaster in the Gulf of Mexico, and Shell's series of failures in the Arctic, the federal government placed significant regulatory restrictions on Shell's permits. These included effectively limiting Shell to drilling just one hole at a time and giving the company only a relatively short, three-month period to work in the Arctic. With the goal of avoiding the coming winter ice and severe weather, which had resulted in the wreck of Shell's Kulluk rig in December 2012, President Barack Obama's administration had stipulated that Shell had to wrap up its exploration activities on September 28 and send its 29-vessel armada back to port; they would be allowed to return next summer.

And Shell's operations faced obstacles even in the relatively milder summer months. In early

July, Shell's Fennica rig tore a gash in its ballast tank en route to the Chukchi Sea, delaying the start of operations for several weeks while it was repaired in Portland, Oregon. Then, once drilling was underway, strong winds and high waves in late August and early September forced Shell to temporarily suspend activities for several days.

All the while, self-titled "#ShellNo" protesters specifically focused on shrinking Shell's tight three-month drilling window with actions that slowed the movement of its rigs to Alaska as they traveled in and out of Washington and Oregon.

There was also the near collapse of oil prices from about \$150 per barrel in 2008 (when Shell purchased its leases) to less than \$45 this past summer. Despite all this, Shell had publicly renewed its commitment to the Arctic as recently as mid-September. In an interview with the BBC, Ben van Beurden, Shell's chief executive officer, said production would not take place until at least 2030, thereby allowing the company to avoid having to sell the oil at the current low prices or lowering the price further by adding more product to an already saturated market. It is a stalling tactic that was echoed one week later by Exxon Mobil's senior Arctic consultant, Jed Hamilton, who said, "American oil companies should explore for crude in Arctic waters so they can bring it up by the time the nation's shale oil fields have been mostly drained, in two decades."

Value accrues even without production in two



BY
ANTONIA JUHASZ
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ways. The most significant comes when the company is able to count the Arctic oil among its holdings, known as “booking reserves,” which would occur when (and if) Shell could prove that there was oil there that it could, and planned to, produce. Shell could also expect to get a short-term bump in its share price if it was able to demonstrate that it could anticipate being able to book those reserves in the future. Shell was likely unable to find enough oil in the one hole it had time to drill to meet these needs, and then it determined that the costs—already topping \$7 billion—would not outweigh the benefits of moving forward.

Shell really needed that boost. There is an old industry adage that when “you can’t find oil in the field, find it on Wall Street”—which is why Shell is in the midst of seeking regulatory authorization for the second largest oil company merger in history: a \$70 billion bid for the London-based BG Group. The merger is critical to Shell’s corporate health; the company’s profits collapsed by nearly 50 percent from 2012 to 2014 (versus 28 and 27 percent for Exxon Mobil and Chevron, respectively), and it holds the dubious distinction of having the

ABANDON SHIP:
Shell has put
an end to its oil
drilling operations
in the Arctic’s
Chukchi Sea. The
company’s ships
and rigs are now on
their way back to
ports in the lower
48 states.

+

worst “reserve replacement ratio”—the rate at which a company replaces the oil and gas it produces with new finds—of any major oil company, which is also why Shell was sticking it out in the Arctic longer than just about anyone else.

But the increasingly negative public reaction its Arctic operations were attracting was not helping its cause. In fact, short of the Keystone XL oil pipeline, it is hard to recount an active oil project in recent history that has faced a more concerted and global opposition. Besides other well-known actions in places like Seattle and Portland, there was a steady deluge of protest at Shell’s London headquarters, including a weeklong encampment by a double-decker-bus-sized polar bear and live performances of “Requiem for Arctic Ice” by a 10-piece string orchestra. On September 10, Shell was very publicly ousted from Prince Charles’s corporate climate group, which it had helped found, over its Arctic drilling.

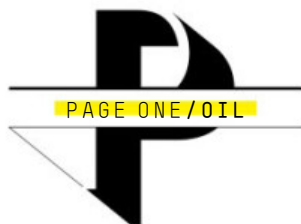
Shell knew the chances it would ever be able to book reserves that it did find were shrinking, leaving little reason to incur the risks involved in maintaining a drilling presence in the Arctic. For example, even if Shell had stayed and found oil, it would have been required to apply for a new drilling permit, and the likelihood of receiving it was looking increasingly grim. In their efforts to court their environmental base, both leading Democratic contenders for president made clear their opposition to Shell’s Arctic drilling (Hillary Clinton) and to drilling in the Arctic altogether (Bernie Sanders).

Meanwhile, Obama’s historic trip to Alaska last month was meant to showcase his boldest case yet for action on the climate in advance

“WHEN YOU CAN’T FIND OIL IN THE FIELD, FIND IT ON WALL STREET.”

of the United Nations climate talks in Paris in November. “I’m dragging the world behind me to Paris,” Obama reportedly said. But instead, the visit was met with jeers of “climate hypocrisy,” with Shell’s drilling rigs—approved by his administration—looming in the public mind like a mental backdrop to every selfie and GoPro video he shot. In one video, Obama stood on the edge of Bristol Bay proudly discussing how he’d protected the area from oil drilling because “it’s such a sensitive site and people are so dependent





on it for their economy, their livelihood and just for sustaining their families.” The same could be said for the communities living on the nearby shores of the Chukchi Sea.

Wainwright, Alaska, population 550, sits on the Chukchi Sea on the far northern edge of Alaska’s North Slope. The Inupiat who call it home have lived on the North Slope since A.D. 500, and for its entire history, what is now called Wainwright has been a subsistence village heavily dependent on the sea and the land.

Shell was drilling about 70 miles from shore. This is about the same distance that BP’s Deepwater Horizon operated in the Gulf of Mexico from Boothville-Venice, Louisiana—the closest populated area to the rig. And just as Shell planned to remain in the exploratory phase of its operations for years, BP was in preproduction when the Macondo well suffered an uncontrolled blowout leading to the largest offshore drilling oil spill in history. “I’m really worried about Shell,” James Griffin, a custodian at the village’s only school, told me. “If there’s a spill, that’s our whales and our seals. That’s our way of life.”

The walls of 63-year-old Ida Panik’s home proudly display photo collages of whale catches led by her husband and father, both whaling captains. “We protect them, and they provide for us,” she said. “We need each other.” Shell’s presence, she worried, threatened “our beluga, our bearded seal, our whale, which we depend on.”

On July 20, as Shell’s armada arrived in the Chukchi, Inupiaq rap artist Allison Akootchook Warden, aka “AKU-MATU,” was performing in the city chambers. Warden, who lives in Anchorage, Alaska, and was partially raised in the village of Kaktovik in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge, opened her rap in Inupiaq: “*Allai sijakputallanjuqtuq. Nunakput allanjuqtuq. Sikuiqsuq*”—“It is so wrong that our weather has changed, bringing with it the transformation of our land and our nation. There is no more ice.” Like so many other coastal Alaskan villages, Wainwright and Kaktovik are slipping into the ocean.

Climate change politicized Warden, but oil drilling led her to march in the streets of New York City with 400,000 others in September 2014 and to protest Shell’s Polar Pioneer rig in Seattle. “It’s

a terrible thing to watch your culture be threatened in this way, our very way of life,” she says. “The people here, they haven’t seen [the Polar Pioneer] yet, but I have. It’s monstrous.”

Yet, a year ago, the village leadership signed an unprecedented agreement with Shell. Olgoonik, the village corporation, joined five other North Slope villages in paying a reported total of \$45 million to buy an interest in Shell’s Chukchi leases (which are in federal waters)—making them direct financial beneficiaries of these operations. They had hopes of long-term oil revenue and immediate boosts to the local economy with jobs and increased local spending. But most of the workers staffing Shell’s operations here ended up coming from outside of the community, saving their income to spend at home with their families. These and other outsiders filled a 60-person “man camp” on the edge of the village; Shell had plans for another 300-person man camp (in a village of just 550 people) in the works.

Sitting on a bluff overlooking the Chukchi Sea watching for beluga whales, Tex Bodfish needed

OBAMA’S HISTORIC VISIT TO ALASKA WAS MET WITH JEERS OF “CLIMATE HYPOCRISY.”

few words to express how he felt about Shell. Waving his arms aggressively out toward the sea, he exhorted the company, “Get out of here!”

He got his way—at least for now. In the announcement that it was leaving, Shell reported finding “indications of oil and gas,” but, given the high financial costs involved and the “challenging and unpredictable federal regulatory environment in offshore Alaska,” these were insufficient to warrant further exploration. Shell will be sealing and abandoning the one and only well it drilled.

But on the same day Shell said it would stop drilling, it also announced that it “continues to see important exploration potential in the [Atlantic-Arctic] basin, and the area is likely to ultimately be of strategic importance to Alaska and the U.S.” And, the company added, it will not abandon its extensive Arctic leases, which include 275 blocks in the Chukchi Sea. ■

ANTONIA JUHASZ is the author of several books, including most recently *Black Tide: The Devastating Impact of the Gulf Oil Spill*.

World Bank's
daily spending
threshold for
extreme poverty
in 1990

\$1.00

TWO
NUMBERS

\$1.90

Revised daily
spending
threshold
for extreme
poverty in
2015

Psalms for the Poor

BUY HALF A LATTE IN NEW YORK OR LIVE FOR A DAY IN CONGO

By the end of 2015, less than 10 percent of the world's population will be living in extreme poverty for the first time, according to new projections from the World Bank.

The World Bank adjusted its definition of *extreme poverty* this year by increasing the benchmark of daily expenditure. In 1990, it set the threshold at \$1 a day, and that was raised to \$1.08 in 1993 and \$1.25 in 2008. Now it has been raised to \$1.90. According to the World Bank, "\$1.25 no longer buys what it previously did" in terms of food, clothing and basic shelter.

The number of people

in poverty is set to drop from 902 million, or 12.8 percent of the population, living on \$1.90 or less a day in 2012, to 702 million, or 9.6 percent of the population, living on \$1.90 a day by the end of the year, the World Bank says. Since 1990, more than 1 billion people have been pulled out of extreme poverty, as countries working toward the U.N. Millennium Development Goals halved global poverty between 1990 and 2010, five years ahead of schedule.

The poverty line focuses on the monetary aspect of being poor. The inclusion of indicators such as

child mortality, malnutrition and education levels would provide a more complete picture, says Anirudh Krishna, a professor at Duke University. "Poverty measurement is not a very precise science. It's not like measuring height or blood pressure or counting marbles; it's very complex and very full of thumb rules and judgment calls," says Krishna.

In September, world leaders gathered at the U.N. to commit to eradicating extreme poverty by 2030, but there are still barriers to achieving that goal. Francisco Ferreira, senior adviser in the

World Bank's development research group, says the "paramount challenge" is ensuring that Africa, the continent with the world's highest poverty rate, sustains growth in as many countries as possible. "Although poverty will keep falling [in Africa], and even though it's been growing fast, it's not growing like China or India," says Ferreira. "All of our scenarios suggest that as we move forward, more and more of the remaining poverty, the really hard-to-reach poverty, will be concentrated in Africa."

BY
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SOURCE: WORLD BANK



THE OTHER REFUGEE CRISIS

Israel is divided over how to deal with non-Jewish African asylum seekers

USUMAIN BARAKA was 9 when Arab Janjaweed militants destroyed his village in Darfur in 2004, killing his father and brother. After four years in a Sudanese refugee camp, Baraka says, he wanted a better future. At the time, he says, he thought “Israel was the only democracy in the Middle East.... I really related to the Jewish people because of the Holocaust and thought they would identify with me because of the genocide in Darfur.”

At the age of 13, Baraka trekked from Sudan into Egypt, and then over the border into Israel. Instead of a safe haven, he found himself in a country that wanted nothing to do with him. “They don’t even check our refugee requests,” says Baraka.

He is one of the nearly 65,000 Africans who entered Israel illegally from 2006 to 2013. Around 45,000 remain. More than 33,000 are from Eritrea, and 8,500 from Sudan—the 10th and fourth largest sources of refugees in the world. Israel has granted refugee status to just four Eritrean refugees and not one from Sudan.

As European governments grapple with how to handle a flood of refugees and migrants, some in Europe are now looking to Israel as a model.

The irony is that it was the international failure to assist Jews during the Holocaust that led to the 1951 United Nations Refugee Convention, the first international agreement addressing the rights of refugees and states’ obligations to them. Today, 148 nations are signatories to this legal document. That tragic period also led to the establishment of Israel, a safe haven for oppressed Jews. Israel was among the first countries to sign the U.N. Refugee

Convention, as its people, perhaps more than anyone, knew what it was like to be unwelcome.

While Israel remains a haven for Jewish refugees, Israeli officials and the media routinely disparage non-Jewish African asylum seekers. In August, Israeli Interior Minister Silvan Shalom declared, “I will not relent until we reach a framework that will allow the removal of the infiltrators from Israel.”

In 2012, parliament member Miri Regev, now the culture minister, called African asylum seekers “a cancer in the body” of the nation. A poll by the Israel Democracy Institute found that 52 percent of Jewish Israelis agreed with her.

Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu has warned of a threat to Israel’s Jewish identity. “If we don’t stop the problem,” he said in 2012, “60,000 infiltrators are liable to become 600,000 and cause the negation of the state of Israel as a Jewish and democratic state.”

The difference between *migrant* and *refugee* is crucial, as nations are free to deport migrants lacking legal papers. The key tenet of the U.N. convention is that nations cannot deport refugees.

Israel has not gone so far as to deport the African asylum seekers. Instead, the government grants Sudanese and Eritreans special visas for “temporary collective protection,” essentially rendering their stays in Israel legal. Yet that visa denies them access to formal work permits, the national health care system and social services.

In 2013, I met an Eritrean couple living in a cockroach-infested one-room apartment with

BY
YARDENA SCHWARTZ
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OUTSIDER: Gorgio, an Eritrean asylum seeker, works as a hotel cleaner in an upscale Tel Aviv neighborhood, but most Eritreans and Sudanese struggle to find legal work in Israel.

their twin 8-month-old sons. The boys were both extremely sick, projectile vomiting as their father explained to me that he and his wife tried getting them emergency care but were turned away because they lacked insurance. A day after our interview, one of the little boys died.

"If you're not deporting them, you're acknowledging that there's a danger to them in their home country. That's exactly the definition of a refugee," says Anat Ovadia-Rosner of the Hotline for Refugees and Migrants. "The government's strategy is to make their lives more miserable and difficult in order to make them despair and then leave."

An official policy of "voluntary deportation," introduced in 2013, has led many to do just that. The government offers Sudanese and Eritreans \$3,500, plus a one-way ticket home or to a third-party country, namely Rwanda or Uganda. Those who refuse are held at Saharonim prison or Holot, a detention center in a remote part of the Negev desert. The government and the Supreme Court have battled over this detention policy for years. For now, the government is allowed to hold asylum seekers in Saharonim indefinitely without trial or in Holot for 12 months.

Magdi Hassan, 28, fled Darfur with his family in 2004 and reached Israel in 2007. After being held in Holot for 18 months, he was released in August. "We're not criminals," Hassan says. "We're just human beings who need protection."

More than 10,000 people accepted voluntary deportation. Yet a report by the Hotline for Refugees revealed that while they were promised protection in third-party countries, many had money and travel documents taken by authorities on arrival. In some cases, they were jailed.

"Israel is not indifferent to the human tragedy of the refugees from Syria and Africa," Netanyahu said in September. "But Israel is a small country, a very small country, that lacks demographic and geographic depth; therefore, we must control our borders, against both illegal migrants and terrorism."

Between 2011 and 2013, Israel built a fence on its border with Egypt. It worked. In 2013, just 43 people crossed, down from 17,000 in 2011. Bulgaria and Hungary have expressed interest in replicating Israel's fence to keep out asylum seekers.

The refugee crisis in Europe has reawakened a debate in Israel over how descendants of Holocaust survivors should treat non-Jewish refugees. Even though Israel and Syria are technically still at war and Syria supports Hezbollah, a sworn enemy of Israel, some Israeli politicians have called for Israel to grant asylum to Syrian refugees. The government, however, has started erecting an

"IF YOU'RE NOT DEPORTING THEM, YOU'RE ACKNOWLEDGING THAT THERE'S A DANGER TO THEM IN THEIR HOME COUNTRY."

18-mile fence along the border with Jordan, which is home to more than 600,000 Syrian refugees.

"Both of my grandparents are from Hungary. They were both in Auschwitz, and I always think about it," says Ovadia-Rosner, of the Hotline for Refugees. "That's the main thing that makes me frustrated and ashamed by what Israel is doing. A country built by refugees for refugees should be the one to help them and show the world how it's done, not abuse them like this." ■



LADY OF THE VALLEY

Carly Fiorina's business record as HP's CEO has become a piñata, but it's not nearly as bad as it looks

NO ONE has ever mistaken Carly Fiorina for Steve Jobs. But was she really a disastrous CEO at Hewlett-Packard, the Palo Alto, California-based global computing and information technology company she led from 1999 to 2005? As she rises in the polls, Fiorina's business record is becoming a bigger target. Donald Trump regularly slams her years running a Fortune 20 company. *The New York Times* trumpets opinion pieces branding her a failure in that job. The headlines suggest the 61-year-old Republican single-handedly

destroyed HP, from which she was fired.

The critics cite her spectacular defenestration and point to undeniably ugly metrics, like HP losing more than half its shareholder value under her, as proof that she was a lousy CEO and would be a disaster as president. They note HP failed repeatedly to meet its own revenue and profit forecasts. Numbers may not lie, but in some cases they don't tell the whole story. And in Fiorina's case, they may be misleading. While her tenure at HP may not have been as

BY
**LEAH MCGRATH
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EROS HOAGLAND/REDUX



+ **BOARD GAMES:** Fiorina got axed by an HP board of directors that became notorious for how spectacularly dysfunctional it was.

successful as Fiorina boasts, it was by no means the horror show her critics portray.

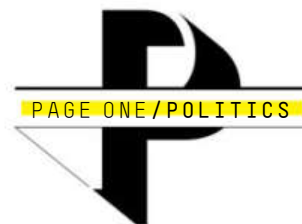
To better understand the subtleties, you have to go back to the late '90s, when Fiorina took command of HP just before the dot-com bust and the September 11 attacks. She was an outsider—its first female chairman and CEO since the company's founding in 1939, and the only one not promoted from inside. She was also eyed skeptically, because her expertise was marketing, not tech. Early in her HP stint, she was treated as a rock star by the business press, with *Fortune* magazine naming her the No. 1 most powerful woman in business in 1998, then ripping her as a failure just days before her firing.

The two major metrics by which a CEO is often judged are profits and stock price—and those are what her naysayers cite as prima facie evidence that she blew it. With Fiorina at the helm, HP's revenues nearly doubled after she led a merger with competitor Compaq in 2002, but the stock price fell more than 50 percent. Not surprisingly, Fiorina highlights her revenue figures on the stump, while her critics underscore the drop in stock price and profit.

But Fiorina had just one year of actual losses—2002, the year of the Compaq deal—which is not really unusual in the wake of a big merger. And she posted profits every other year she was CEO. In fact, by 2004, two years after the Compaq merger and the year before her ouster, the company's profits grew to exceed premerger levels and were on the upswing, a trend that continued for years after she was ousted. Did the stock prices of similar computer giants like Microsoft, Dell and IBM do better? Yes, but that doesn't make her a flop.

Fiorina's detractors have been quick to say her revenue figures are irrelevant. They say when you slap two revenue-generating companies together, of course you get more revenue—that, in effect, Fiorina bought HP's growth; she didn't create it. But a survey of 270 mergers across countries and industries published in the *Harvard Business Review* in 2008 found that Fiorina's focus on revenue over earnings was the correct approach. In fact, the study found that increasing revenue, rather than earnings, just after a merger leads to best results.

"After a merger, managers should ignore the usual advice to strive primarily for improving the bottom line through cost reductions," wrote merger experts Jürgen Rothenbuecher and Joerg Schrottke of A.T. Kearney, a global consulting firm. "Instead, they should make it a priority to



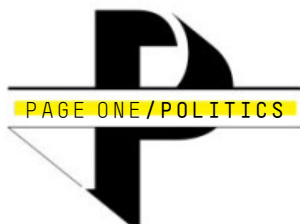
strengthen sales and marketing in order to sustain profitable revenue growth. That's because revenue growth is necessary for earnings growth, the most reliable engine for driving total shareholder returns over the long term." This is exactly what Fiorina did. The last full year she led HP, it reported "record revenues achieved in every business."

Fiorina has caught flak over another metric—layoffs. HP let go roughly 30,000 employees following the Compaq merger, which was horrible for those tossed on the street but is the kind of ruthless move often necessary for companies to survive and thrive. By contrast, current CEO Meg Whitman, who once ran eBay, has laid off 55,000 people since 2011 and expects to fire more. Under Whitman, HP also reported a loss of more than \$12 billion for fiscal year 2012, dwarfing Fiorina's singular loss in fiscal 2002 of slightly less than \$1 billion. Whitman, like Fiorina, has been excoriated for her performance by some members of the press, but she defends the

THERE MAY BE HORROR STORIES, BUT THE COMMON DENOMINATOR HERE IS NOT FIORINA. IT'S HP.

layoffs she and Fiorina made at HP. "You have to be competitive—or you will lose," Whitman said during a recent TV interview.

While Fiorina critics note that she failed to execute on strategy and was not a details-oriented manager, they also acknowledge that HP's board of directors was "dysfunctional." That last part is an understatement. Even after HP's board fired Fiorina in 2005, its members distrusted one another so much that the new chairman, Patricia Dunn, launched a secret investigation into the directors' behavior, which included making leaks to the press. That spiraled into a spying scandal that attracted the



attention of Congress, the U.S. Federal Trade Commission and the Department of Justice. It resulted in lawsuits, criminal charges, convictions and fines—and Fiorina had nothing to do with it. Some of those board members who supported her abrupt dismissal, like Silicon Valley investment legend Tom Perkins, now say they made a mistake. In an ad he took out in *The New York Times* this past August, he wrote that while Fiorina lost her job by standing up to the board, “history proves Carly was right.”

While CEOs generally don't have a long life expectancy, Fiorina's succeeding CEOs at HP have all been fired or smeared—or both. Whitman, the only other female CEO in the company's history, has been called a failure. Even Mark Hurd, roundly credited with cutting costs and restoring the company's stock price and profitability while CEO from 2005 to 2010, is still plagued by a website called FuckYouMarkHurd.com after being forced out of HP. Hurd is now CEO at Oracle, a global computer technology corporation.

The upshot is clear: There may be horror stories, but the common denominator here is not Fiorina. It's HP.

The biggest concern of some of Fiorina's most vociferous detractors—among them Steven Rattner, former head of the Quadrangle Group, a New York private equity firm, and Jeffrey Sonnenfeld, senior associate dean at the Yale School of Management—is that she has the audacity to run for the nation's highest office based on her track record at HP. For the record, Rattner is a major Democratic donor, while Sonnenfeld is an occasional one.

“Unfortunately, she's tried to shade and nuance the facts,” Sonnenfeld tells *Newsweek*. “Sometimes the truth is not gray, it's black and white.” He notes that many ousted CEOs will rebound as CEOs elsewhere—like Hurd, who was scooped up almost immediately. Not so with Fiorina. When asked during a recent TV interview why she never took another job as a CEO, she said, “Because I didn't want to go back to work as a CEO, that's why. Because I had done

that.” She added that she “was offered many jobs,” including as a CEO, but “I wanted a break, and then I wanted to give back.”

The gap of 10 years in Fiorina's résumé is an issue for many. At the end of *Tough Choices*, her 2006 memoir, she described herself as seeking a new kind of life after HP—and she had the money to go do it after a payday of \$21 million in cash and additional stock and pension benefits totaling \$19 million. So she could afford to write glowingly, “I love to fall asleep at night and awake when I choose.... I love to spend the day, as I am today, in the company of children with nothing particular to do and nowhere particular to go.”

Fiorina did work on the presidential campaign of GOP candidate John McCain in 2008, led several charities and chaired an external advisory board from 2008 to 2009 for the CIA, receiving high marks from Michael Hayden, former head of both the CIA and the National Security Agency under George W. Bush. Hayden tells *Newsweek* he found her “bright, inquisitive” and an hon-

FIORINA WAS NAMED THE NO. 1 WOMAN IN BUSINESS, THEN RIPPED AS A FAILURE.

est broker of information. In 2010, Fiorina lost a California Senate race against incumbent Democrat Barbara Boxer, the same year Whitman lost her gubernatorial bid in California against Jerry Brown. (Whitman is supporting Chris Christie for president, but she praises Fiorina's tenure at HP.)

But none of Fiorina's post-HP gigs could be called triumphal rebounds comparable to her earlier meteoric rise, notes David Tawil, a Republican voter who witnessed Fiorina's time at HP and now runs multimillion-dollar hedge fund Maglan Capital. “My biggest beef is that all we have to go on is that she doesn't have an unquestionably good track record she can put up. When she ran HP, she repeatedly overpromised and under-delivered. It is one thing to not meet others' expectations, but if you can't even meet your own, that is a big problem. If you were to judge her [at HP] most favorably, she gets nothing more than holding on to a behemoth.... She was in Silicon Valley, she was supposed to be ahead of the curve.”

Still, there are many ways to assess a leader. After all, even Steve Jobs got the heave-ho from Apple before returning as a conquering hero. Fiorina isn't Steve Jobs, but who is? ■

Names in the News

UP, DOWN AND SIDEWAYS

 @WisdomWatch



RUPERT MURDOCH



Media mogul sings praises of Ben Carson on Twitter and says he could be “a real black president.” Dr. King’s dream truly fulfilled in an America where people are not judged by the color of their skin but by how much an Aussie immigrant likes their views on immigration.

YOGA



Ninth Circuit judge says you can’t copyright poses or breathing exercises; rules against guru who sued instructors. Next up, the court takes on very spicy Kama Sutra copyright claim against *Cosmo*.



FBI



Director James B. Comey says British newspaper has better stats on police shootings in U.S. than he does. Bureau currently relies on self-reporting, which is clearly not even good enough for government work.



ISIS



Pentagon drops “train and equip” mission for Syrian rebels to take on ISIS. Announces it will now “vet” fighters and decide whether to provide weapons. “So how did you first hear about us?”



JASON CHAFFETZ



His anti-Planned Parenthood “chart” riddled with questionable citations and sourcing. Congressman spotted navigating D.C. streets by sucking on finger, then checking for wind direction.



ROBBERIES



FBI finds \$600,000 buried in yard of a former armored truck driver. Driver conspired with colleague to smuggle cash in a trashcan during cross-country trip. That’s some very dirty money.





BORDERLINE INSANI

The sometimes hysterical debate
about immigration reform is missing
one important element: the truth

BY KURT EICHENWALD

OH, SAY, CAN
YOU SEE? The
U.S.-Mexico
border south of
San Diego cuts
through a beach
and extends
into the ocean.

TY



ARE THERE ANY AMERICANS WHO CAN'T RECITE BY ROTE THE MANY ALLEGATIONS LEVELED BY POLITICIANS AGAINST IMMIGRANTS?

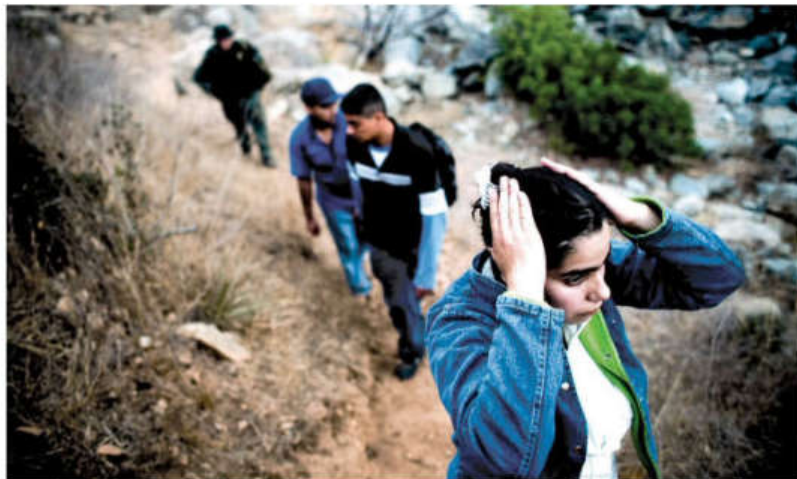
They are violent, dangerous lawbreakers. They steal jobs from citizens. They cost taxpayers billions for social services. And then there are the proposed solutions: Washington should deport the millions who are in the country illegally and build a wall on the Mexican border to prevent them from returning.

Lots of people believe all of this, but how much of it is true? And would the proposed solutions be effective, and at what cost?

The answers aren't what most Americans—conservative or liberal—want to hear. Other than their violation of immigration laws, these “illegals” commit far fewer crimes per capita than lesser educated, native-born Americans. They do take jobs, but they also create more jobs for Americans. They use some social services, but a

OPEN-DOOR POLICY: There was no border crisis in the U.S. prior to 1965, because the government issued short-term visas for Mexican laborers.

+



lot of that is offset by how much they pump into the economy. The aggressive enforcement of U.S. immigration laws has given rise to an organized crime network that smuggles people across the border, often while subjecting them to rape, kidnapping and even murder. And as for the most popular, easy-sounding solutions, such as building walls and having mass deportations? They are ridiculous and would require spending hundreds of billions of dollars to accomplish virtually nothing, while upending the American economy.

All of this raises a fundamental question: Is immigration really of such import that finding ways to boot out border-crossers should be a central issue in the current presidential campaigns? Or has immigrant paranoia become the red meat both Democratic and Republican politicians wave in front of crowds, hoping to whip them into a frenzy to win votes?

In other words, we know why the politicians might be lying on this issue. We just need to understand what the falsehoods are.

THE COYOTE MAFIA

TO UNDERSTAND the current controversy, look back a few decades. Until the mid-1960s, illegal immigration from Mexico was incomprehensible because the United States was legally admitting about 50,000 Mexicans a year as immigrants. From 1942 through 1964, the United States issued short-term visas for temporary laborers from Mexico, primarily for agricultural work. The system functioned well—some Mexicans became legal residents, more became temporary workers, and very little needed to be spent policing the borders since the laborers were happy to head back home when their seasonal jobs were done.

But civil rights advocates criticized the program as exploitative, and in 1965 Congress terminated the issuance of the short-term visas, which accomplished nothing. “When opportunities for legal entry disappeared after 1965, the massive inflow from Mexico simply re-established itself under undocumented auspices,” says Douglas Massey, a professor of sociology and public affairs at Princeton University. “By 1979, it roughly equaled the volume observed in the late 1950s, only now the overwhelming majority of migrants were ‘illegal.’”

Fast-forward to 1986. That year, IBM introduced the first laptop computer, *Top Gun* raked in millions at the box office, the Chicago Bears won Super Bowl XX, and the big topic in Washington was immigration reform. The number of immigrants coming into the United States illegally had been increasing dramatically since 1979, leading to concerns that they were taking jobs from



Areas with high concentrations of workers without documentation—such as El Paso—are among the safest in the country.

citizens, soaking up tax dollars through social services and creating innumerable other problems. So the Reagan administration and Congress hammered out a solution. The Immigration Reform and Control Act imposed significant financial penalties on companies that hired these immigrants, provided near-universal amnesty for those already in the United States and beefed up border security. Almost all of the 3.2 million people unlawfully residing in the country applied for amnesty, and about 2.8 million received it. Tougher borders, tougher employment sanctions and no more money or time wasted chasing people who didn't have the necessary immigration papers—it seemed like a perfect solution.

But it wasn't. Farmers railed against the law, fearful that they would no longer have access to the many workers who harvested crops, and the Chamber of Commerce protested the financial sanctions on employers. So, over the years, the requirements compelling employers to thoroughly vet potential hires for their immigration status were rolled back.

**CRIME TIME
DRAMA: Trump
has made immi-
gration a major
talking (shout-
ing?) point in his
campaign, claim-
ing that Mexico
is emptying its
jails and sending
felons to the U.S.**

Since 1986, the number of immigrants without documentation has exploded, peaking at around 12 million in 2007 and then dropping after the economic collapse the following year. The Department of Homeland Security now estimates that there are in excess of 11 million in the United States. And that may have been the least bad thing that the new laws spawned. The amnesty program, combined with strengthening border security, created a huge demand for bogus documentation so that immigrants who had arrived in the country too late to qualify for the program could pretend they reached America early enough to be declared eligible. Mexicans preparing to head for the United States in hopes of being granted amnesty turned to a black market for counterfeit records run by a network of so-called *coyotajes*—criminals best known for smuggling people across the border. As more money poured into the coyotaje gangs, their power grew. The toughened border patrols created by the 1986 law served only to increase the influence of the coyotajes. Individuals could



If politicians round up all immigrants without documentation and toss them out of the country, the Texas economy will take a punch in the gut.

no longer expect to simply wade across the Rio Grande; instead, they had to turn to the ruthless gangs for help. The increasingly violent coyota-organized crime groups became a primary means of reaching America, charging large sums for each person crossing the border. This became a huge enterprise, earning as much as \$6 billion a year, says one federal immigration official, who spoke on condition of anonymity.

When organized crime starts making money in a business, business booms. Coyotajes and drug cartels not only helped people who wanted to go across the border but also spent time in their communities convincing others to head to the United States. That's why when politicians now say "let's stop illegal immigration," they may as well be proclaiming that they can end gambling, prostitution, drugs or any other business of organized crime. America is no longer trying to keep out some Mexican men hoping to find work; it is in a war with vicious criminals who

BOOM TIMES: A San Diego Border Patrol office keeps a wall of Polaroids of suspected coyotes, the human traffickers who make an estimated \$6 billion a year bringing people into the U.S.

can move fast to adapt to any new policies and preserve their billions. They already have: When border patrols were bolstered at San Diego and El Paso, Texas, smugglers began to move toward the Sonoran Desert. This, of course, was more difficult and dangerous, so smugglers increased their fees from \$500 a head to \$3,000. A large number of border-crossers paid an even higher price—the risk of death for people entering the United States illegally through the Sonoran was 17 times greater in 2009 than it had been in 1998, according to the American Civil Liberties Union and the Heritage Foundation.

Many of those people died because the smugglers either abandoned or murdered them. Coyotaje groups have even gone so far as to kidnap people who were making their way to the U.S., then demand payment from the victims' families in exchange for releasing them. And many women who hired the smugglers have reported being sexually assaulted by them.

THE NO-CRIME WAVE

ONCE IMMIGRANTS arrive in the U.S. illegally, do they commit crimes? In any group of millions of people, there will be those who engage in violent felonies, but the numbers here are not statistically significant. Rubén Rumbaut, a professor of sociology at the University of California, Irvine, noted in a 2007 report for the Immigration Policy Center (now part of the American Immigration Council) that even though the number of undocumented immigrants doubled from 1994 to the record 12 million in 2007, the violent crime rate in America dropped 34 percent, and the property crime rate fell 26 percent. That same report found that Mexican immigrants—legal and illegal—had an incarceration rate in 2000 of 0.7 percent, lower than that of American-born whites and blacks of similar socioeconomic status and education. And repeated studies have found that areas with high concentrations of workers without documentation—such as El Paso—are among the safest in the country. The 2010 census data reveal that young, poorly educated men in the U.S. from Mexico, El Salvador and Guatemala—the bulk of the population of immigrants who live in the country illegally—have incarceration rates significantly lower than those of native-born young men without high school diplomas.

Multiple studies have found that the vast majority of arrests of immigrants without documentation involve immigration charges, followed by drug violations. For example, a Government Accountability Office report from 2011 stated that 90 percent of all immigrants sentenced for a crime in federal court had been charged with either immigration or drug violations. And included in that mix are the smugglers who were headed back to Mexico but still in the United States illegally for a brief time.

A detailed study by the Center for Violence Prevention and Community Safety at Arizona State University of arrests in Maricopa County—where there is a large population of immigrants—found that those without documentation were far less likely than American citizens to have used marijuana, crack cocaine or methamphetamines, although they were somewhat more likely to have used powder cocaine.

The bottom line: The claim made by people such as Donald Trump—the real estate tycoon who is leading in polls for the Republican presidential nomination—that the Mexican government is emptying its jails and sending murderers and rapists into America is ridiculous. The gangs of murderers and rapists—the coyotajes empowered by poorly planned U.S. policy—return home, crossing the border only to keep the money

flowing to their illicit businesses. Their clients—and frequent victims—are mostly those desperate to answer the siren song of American farmers and businesses seeking cheap labor.

THEY PAY TAXES!

WHAT ABOUT the charge that immigrants steal jobs from Americans? A joint study by the University of Utah and the University of Arizona confirmed that most undocumented immigrants work in low-skilled jobs normally not filled by Americans. More important, though, is this surprising fact: Immigrants create jobs. It's simple economics—if more people spend money, more jobs are created. Workers without documentation still pay rent, buy food and clothes, go to the movies. Just through their daily existence as consumers, they are spurring economic activity. For example, the Bell Policy Center, a Colorado research group, found that for every job held in



COYOTES BITE: Sneaking across the border has become much more expensive and dangerous in the past 20 years, as immigrants now face the threat of violence from the coyotes hired to bring them across.

that state by an immigrant who lived in the country illegally, another 0.8 jobs are created.

And, once again contradicting popular belief, a majority of immigrants without documentation pay taxes. Some use taxpayer identification numbers on their official payment forms; others use fake Social Security numbers (the Internal Revenue Service recognizes those are bogus but happily accepts the money). They also pay significant sums into both the Social Security Trust Fund and Medicare, but because few of them qualify for benefits, they take little out. In fact, the Social Security Administration includes over \$7 billion in annual contributions from these immigrants in its calculations of the trust fund's solvency.

Many studies have documented the state taxes

paid by immigrants without documentation. In California, they pay about \$300 million a year in income taxes. In Georgia, it's around \$250 million in income, sales and property taxes. In Oregon, as much as \$300 million and in Virginia as much as \$174 million in tax revenue. In Texas, it's \$400 million. And on and on.

THE CURE MIGHT KILL YOU

THERE ARE, of course, costs associated with these immigrants. The tab for law enforcement and incarceration is probably the largest one. A Government Accountability Office report from



BOTTOM LINING:
It's estimated that Arizona would lose \$1.7 billion and over 140,000 jobs if all undocumented workers were deported.

2005 found the cost over four years just for locking up these immigrants totaled \$5.8 billion, with local jails and state prisons spending \$1.7 billion. Today, that number is even higher, as efforts to capture and deport them have intensified.

Then there is health care. Very few immigrants without documentation have health insurance because, contrary to the blather by conservative commentators, they are not covered by federal health programs or by employer-provided insurance. As a result, repeated studies have found that they tend to delay seeking treatment until a problem grows significant, at which point they turn to emergency rooms. Researchers have come up with conflicting numbers of the total cost, but the range is from \$6 billion to \$10 billion a year.

Education is the other big cost. Since the 1982 Supreme Court ruling in *Plyler v. Doe*, public schools have been required to educate children without documentation. A study by Arizona State University and the University of Utah concluded that the amount needed per year to educate these children is \$17 billion, about 3.3 percent of the

total amount spent annually for public schools.

A billion here, a billion there—these are all big numbers. But that is only one side of the equation. These workers also bring significant economic benefit to the country. Take Texas, a state with one of the largest populations of immigrants who crossed the border illegally. A 2006 report by the state comptroller estimated they added \$17.7 billion to gross state product, including contributing \$424 million more to state revenue than they consumed in government services, such as education, health care and law enforcement. In fact, the comptroller found, if politicians made good on their promises to round up immigrants without documentation and toss them out of the country, Texas would take a punch in the gut. Not only would the state lose that \$424 million in revenue, but it also would see a drop of 2.3 percent of the jobs in the state because of the loss of economic activity from those who were removed.

Arizona—where some of the loudest calls for tough action have been made—would also fare badly. The Immigration Policy Center found that the state would lose \$11.7 billion in gross state product and over 140,000 jobs if all immigrants without documentation were deported.

Indeed, the nation would suffer significantly, according to a 2015 report by the American Action Forum. Such a mass deportation “would cause the labor force to shrink by 6.4 percent, which translates to a loss of 11 million workers,” the report says. “As a result, 20 years from now the economy would be nearly 6 percent or \$1.6 trillion smaller than it would be if the government did not remove all undocumented immigrants.” The impact would be felt across the economy, the report says, although the agriculture, construction, retail and hospitality sectors would be the hardest hit.

WALL-EYED LUNACY

WHEN ALL THE statistics and studies are examined, it is easy to see how deceptive or ignorant politicians have been when discussing illegal immigration. And the real hilarity ensues when they lay out their simplistic proposals of kicking 'em out and building a fence.

Start with mass deportations. Perhaps Americans would be willing to lose that \$1.6 trillion when 11 million people are sent back across the borders. That, however, is not the total cost here. The government has to apprehend, detain, process and transport those millions of men, women and children. Even with a fence, there would need to be large sums spent to keep the deported from returning. The price tag for this undertaking would be in the range of \$420 billion to \$620 billion, according to American Action Forum, which

The Congressional Research Service

found in 2007 that a 700-mile fence would

cost about \$50 billion over 25 years.

also estimates that the purge would take 20 years. That means an immigrant's 5-year-old daughter could be his lawyer at the deportation hearing that would commence decades from now.

And that brings us to the fence. There are many problems with this, the most important of which is that a huge percentage of the 11 million immigrants without documentation in the U.S. didn't cross the border illegally. Some 4.4 million of them simply overstayed their visas. No fence, no matter how high, will solve that problem.

Then there is the issue of the border's topography. Just take the area from El Paso to Brownsville, Texas—about 1,200 miles of the 1,933-mile U.S.-Mexico border. How would the fence deal with Falcon International Reservoir, which is on the border? The reservoir was created by a dam, which also straddles the border. Would the fence run down the middle of the dam, then drop down to the reservoir and cut through the middle of it, dropping as much as 110 feet to its lowest depth? Or would the United States surrender huge swaths of territory by placing its "border" fence on the shoreline, far from the actual border?

Forget Falcon. What about Big Bend National Park? That runs along 118 miles of border. With canyons, mountains and a river, attempting to build a fence would not only destroy one of the country's most beautiful parks but would be fruitless. The fence would have to go up mountains, to elevations as high as almost 8,000 feet.

These are just a few of the massive challenges presented over less than half of the border. Then there are the broader issues—the billions a fence would cost and the pointlessness of the effort. The Congressional Research Service found in 2007 that a 700-mile fence would cost about \$50 billion over 25 years, including construction, maintenance and upkeep. And remember, that number isn't the half of it: The border is 1,933 miles long.

But assume, somehow, that the fence is magically built over rivers and lakes and mountains for a reasonable price tag. Is there anyone dumb enough to believe that Mexican gangsters running the people-smuggling operations will look at a wall, shrug their shoulders and give up a \$6 billion

yearly business?

Of course not. Instead, boats would start dropping immigrants at Padre Island, just off the Gulf of Mexico but in the U.S. Or the smugglers would raise their prices, and ships would take immigrants north, where they could come ashore above San Diego. Or guards would be bribed. Or the fence bombed. Put simply, people who believe violent criminals cannot find their way around a wall are not being honest with themselves or the public.



FENCING DUEL:
Deporting all undocumented immigrants in the U.S. and preventing their return could take 20 years and cost as much as \$620 billion.

What, then, should the United States do about illegal immigration? A fence won't work, mass deportation won't work, and every plan the government has adopted in recent decades has done nothing but enriched and empowered crime syndicates that have transformed a modest problem into an intractable one.

Perhaps, then, it is time for the country to take a deep, collective breath, stop trafficking in fantasies and face the reality that the only system that ever proved effective in dealing with Mexican nationals wanting to come to America for work was the one abandoned in 1964, when some were given residence and others received temporary visas. Maybe, in this case, the answer for the future can be found in the past. ■



TURKEY'S

HIDDEN

WAR

LAST YEAR, THE GOVERNMENT SEEMED CLOSE TO STRIKING A HISTORIC PEACE DEAL WITH THE COUNTRY'S KURDISH REBELS. WHY ARE ARMED MILITANTS NOW BATTLING SOLDIERS ON CITY STREETS?

by OWEN MATTHEWS



OZAN KOSE/ANFOTURK

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SIXTEEN-YEAR-OLD VEDAT carries a battle-scarred Kalashnikov that looks much older than he is. This fall, he would be back at high school studying to become a nurse if a spate of shootings and terrorist bombings hadn't erupted over the summer vacation. As it is, Vedat slouches on a street corner by a makeshift barricade made of ancient paving stones. The alley wall behind his little redoubt is riddled with fresh bullet holes and decorated with spray-painted stenciled images of Kurdish separatist heroes and Soviet-style revolutionary red stars. In the street beyond the barricade, middle-aged shopkeepers sweep up glass and shrapnel from storefronts shattered by police bullets in an attack the day before.

"The government does not dare to come anywhere near," says Vedat, who wears a bright pink scarf around his face matching the color of his shoelaces. He declined to give his last name because, like other Kurdish fighters and their supporters, he did not want Turkish security forces to know his identity. "We have declared independence here."

This is not a scene from somewhere in Syria but from downtown Diyarbakir, the largest city in southeastern Turkey and the de facto capital of Turkey's 20-million-strong population of ethnic Kurds. In Diyarbakir's historic Suriçi neighborhood, nestled inside the city's black basalt walls that date back a thousand years, up to 50,000 citizens have been living beyond government control behind high barricades since late July. And it's not just Diyarbakir: According to the pro-Kurdish Dicle News Agency (DIHA), the Turkish state has lost control of at least 17 towns across the southeast. In the 10 weeks since the latest round of violence broke out, more than



TINDER BOX: A protester in Istanbul prepares to hurl a Molotov cocktail toward police during demonstrations against Turkey's operations against Kurdish militants in August.

CAGDAS ERDOGAN/AP; PREVIOUS SPREAD: OZAN KOSE/AFP/GETTY





RESISTANCE: Pro-Kurdish signs adorn the walls around the town of Cizre, where police went house to house, hunting militants in September.

120 members of Turkey's security forces have been killed, as well as—by the government's account—over 350 Kurdish militants. On October 10, a bomb at a pro-Kurdish rally in Ankara killed at least 97 in Turkey's worst terrorist attack.

For professional guerrillas like Ferman Amed, the hard-eyed, 30-something commander of the rebel forces in the town of Silvan, an hour outside Diyarbakir, the Kurds' war aims are clear. "We will fight until Kurdistan is united," says Amed as he sits in the courtyard of a commandeered house surrounded by armed young fighters. "We will not allow others to decide our future." But for most ordinary Kurds caught up in the latest cycle of war, things are not so clear-cut. "We don't want to be separate from Turks," says Ozgur, a mathematics teacher from Silvan. "We just want to have the same rights as Turks. We want to live normal lives, free of fear."

The tragedy of this latest bloodbath is that just a few months ago, it looked as if the Turkish state were on the verge of striking a grand peace deal with the Kurds that would have ended one of the world's longest-running insurgencies. For most of the past 40 years, fighters with the Kurdistan Workers' Party, or PKK, have waged a war against the Turkish state that left over 40,000 people dead. But in recent years, a new moderate Kurdish political party known as the Peoples' Democratic Party, or HDP, has been urging ordinary Kurds to fight with ballots

rather than bullets. And in February 2015, top government ministers sat down to formal negotiations with the HDP around a former sultan's grand dining table in the sumptuous surroundings of Istanbul's Dolmabahçe Palace.

"The message from our leadership was clear: We were ready for peace," says Sibel Yigitalp, an HDP member of parliament for Diyarbakir. The PKK was ready to talk about disarmament. The Turkish government was ready to grant amnesties for low-level rebels, plus a package of investment to rejuvenate the shattered economy of Turkey's southeast. "We trusted the government," says Yigitalp. "Peace was on the table."

Yet now, after a more than two-year cease-fire, bullets are again flying, and swaths of Turkey are in open revolt. Even at the height of the bloodshed of the 1990s, the PKK mostly stayed in the hills, avoiding urban warfare. It is hard to overstate how astonishing it is to see rebels openly patrolling the streets of towns that are no-go areas not only for police but for Turkish reporters as well. The rebels deeply distrust most Turkish journalists. This is Turkey's hidden war—a conflict that erupts into the headlines only when police mount assaults on PKK strongholds like Cizre, as in September, but which, for the most part, has gone unreported.

What went wrong? The answer lies in the political ambitions of Turkey's mercurial and increasingly

ruthless president, Recep Tayyip Erdogan. When he came to power in 2002, Erdogan cast himself as a friend and champion of Kurdish rights, defying Turkish nationalist critics to push through concessions like Kurdish-language broadcasting and teaching the Kurdish language in schools. Erdogan also pointed to a common victim narrative between the Kurds and political Islamists like himself; both, he said, had been persecuted by the Turkish state.

"We went through the same suffering as you. Your brother [Erdogan] was jailed for only reciting a poem," Erdogan told a rally in Diyarbakir in 2011—a reference to when he was imprisoned for nine months for quoting a religious poem at a public rally. "I know how the system made my Kurdish brothers suffer. I know well the policies of forced assimilation. But those days are over."

Unsurprisingly, Kurds flocked to vote for Erdogan's Islamist-leaning AK Party—and in that year's general elections, the AKP won 26 of the 38 seats in the Kurdish-majority provinces. In 2012, the Turkish state even opened secret negotiations with Abdullah Ocalan, the founder and leader of the PKK, who has been languishing as the sole inmate of a special prison island in the Sea of Marmara since his arrest in 1999. Erdogan called it his "Kurdish opening."

But last year, Syria's civil war—a conflict reshaping many of the region's political structures and relation-

"THE GOVERNMENT DOES NOT DARE TO COME ANYWHERE NEAR. WE HAVE DECLARED INDEPENDENCE HERE."

ships—claimed another victim when it derailed the Kurd-Erdogan rapprochement. As Syria's government collapsed, the country's Kurds carved a de facto independent area along the border with Turkey. When the Syrian Kurdish town of Kobane was besieged by ISIS forces last October, Erdogan attempted to close the border to stop Turkish Kurds from going to help their ethnic brethren. The Syrian Kurds were able to hold the city after massive airstrikes by the U.S. Air Force, but against the backdrop of Kobane's obliteration and the flight of more than 200,000 Syrian Kurds to Turkey, trust had eroded between Erdogan and the Kurds. Kurdish voters abandoned Erdogan's AKP and instead began supporting the Kurdish-based HDP and its leader, a charismatic young lawyer named Selahattin Demirtas. By the beginning of this summer, distrust of the Turkish state was so deep that Kurdish politicians like HDP co-leader Figen Yuksekdag were openly accusing Turkish security services of working with ISIS militants to undermine Syria's Kurds. The

POWER PLAY: President Tayyip Erdogan led supporters in a rally against "PKK terror" in Istanbul in September.

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deadly bomb on October 10 at an HDP-organized peace rally in Ankara only deepened the rift; Demirtas angrily blamed the government for the attack and denounced the state as “murderers” with “blood on their hands.”

Turkey’s nationwide elections in June were a triumph for the HDP; it became the first-ever Kurdish party to win seats in the parliament, racking up 13 percent of the vote, and Erdogan was deprived of an overall majority for the first time since 2002. Yigitalp, the HDP member of parliament for Diyarbakir, recalls the first day that she and her 80 Kurdish colleagues walked into the parliament in June. “The ultranationalist MPs hated us—they walked all the way round the room in order not to have to look us in the eye,” she says. “And the AK Party MPs looked at us furiously because we cost them their government majority. I felt like a black person used to feel in America.”

For many of Turkey’s beleaguered liberals—the kind of secular, pro-European people who came out in the hundreds of thousands to protest against the government in 2013 and occupied and held Istanbul’s Gezi Park against the police for weeks—the HDP is Turkey’s best hope against continued AKP rule. But overnight, “the government’s priority switched from making peace with the Kurds to destroying the HDP,” says Ramazan Pekgoz, the editor-in-chief of DIHA. “Erdogan cares more about staying in power than he does about a peace deal. The AKP lost the election, so Erdogan started a war.”

Violence broke out within weeks of the election, with each side blaming the other. The PKK blew up Turkish convoys, killing dozens. “The pain of our security forces who were martyred in the treacherous attack by the separatist terrorist organization sears our hearts,” Erdogan told supporters, promising a “decisive” response. Soon after, Turkish security forces launched raids on suspected PKK sympathizers. In July, Turkish military intelligence picked up a movement of PKK fighters and weaponry from mountain hideouts in northern Iraq to Turkish cities. “There has been a power struggle going on for years inside the PKK between the hard men who want to fight forever and those who want peace,” says one senior Western diplomat who watches Kurdish politics closely. “It looks a lot like the hard men have won the argument.”

One of the professional commanders who came from the mountains is Ferman Amed, who says he arrived in Silvan, a town of 80,000 in Diyarbakir province, in early September. Makeshift barricades of rusty cars, scrap metal, paving stones and sandbags had already been erected in the Tekel and Mescit neighborhoods—but the arrival of the armed PKK fighters turned the center of Silvan into an organized, armed camp. By his account, Amed is leading Silvan’s “self-defense”—yet he is very



clearly the leader of a military operation, and on the door of his compound someone has painted: “No entry for civilians.”

“There has been a war here for 40 years because the Kurds have been trying to defend their identity, their culture, their language,” says Amed as he sips orange soda in an easy chair amid wasps and pecking chickens. “Our homeland is in four parts. One part, Rojava [the Kurdish area of northern Syria], is free. Now the war is on to liberate this northern piece of Kurdistan. But we are not attacking anyone. It is the system that is attacking us. We made true steps towards peace, but they were not interested.”

Sporadic gunfire crackles nearby as a Turkish armored car known as an Akrep, or Scorpion, opens fire on Silvan’s defenses. The self-declared independent area of the town is openly patrolled by armed Kurdish gunmen who proclaim loyalty to a PKK-allied group called the Patriotic Revolutionary Youth Movement, or YDG-H. The images that the rebels have spray-painted all over the old city clearly show their loyalty to the PKK cause—iconic pictures of Ocalan and some of the PKK’s most famous martyrs, from the movement’s first suicide



bomber, Zeynep Kinaci, who killed nine people in 1996, to its first military leader, Mahsum Korkmaz. The PKK's old Marxist slogan—"Long live the people's revolutionary war"—is everywhere.

By a small community center in Silvan's Mescit district, some 100 local men have gathered for a ceremonial meal to mark the death on the previous day of 16-year-old Bilal Meygil, who was shot by a police sniper on September 9, according to local news reports. The boy's dazed father and male relatives shuffle around the hall, shaking hands with every guest. Such funerals have become an almost daily ritual, filling the DIHA news wire with images of dismal processions of parents bearing enlarged passport photographs of dead children. It is a fatal, vicious circle common to every insurgency: Violence begins and then the victims become the justification for further violence.

The fighters "are here to protect people against the violence of the police," says Kerem Canpolat, one of the co-mayors of Silvan and a former councilman who declared the town's "self-determination" on September 15, reeling off the previous few days' victims—five children injured by a rocket in

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CRACKDOWN:
Police killed
22 PKK fighters
in Silvan,
where Kurds
had taken
over part of
the town and
declared an
"independent"
area.

Diyarbakir, two young men killed in an ambulance in the Diyarbakir province's Bismil district, Meygil's death in Silvan. "This is a natural self-defense. We cannot say that the PKK and the people are separate things. They *are* the people."

The violence springs up so easily because its roots run so deep. "Every Kurd has a painful story," says Diyarbakir shopkeeper Ihsan Sevikte, 47. His home village of Kurmiq, near Lice, was burned and bulldozed by the Turkish army in 1993. It was part of a regionwide policy of depopulating the countryside to deprive PKK guerrillas of sustenance and to give the army a clear field of fire. Some 5,000 Kurdish villages were razed, and over 2 million people displaced. "When I filed a formal complaint about the burning of my village in 2007, I was arrested and tortured in jail," says Sevikte. Most of his neighbors in the poor Suriçi area of Diyarbakir are also refugees from destroyed villages. "The state does not give us any choice but to resist."

Sevikte was arrested again in 2011 after Kurdish parties did unexpectedly well in municipal elections, and he was held for nine months without charge before being released without explanation. "They arrested us outside the law and released us outside the law too. We don't want the same to happen again. That's why we have to defend ourselves," says Sevikte, nodding toward a 5-foot-high barricade of scrap metal and cobblestones that cuts off his narrow street from the outside world. A neighboring shopkeeper produces his phone and shows off a photo of a young boy in the traditional baggy-trousered uniform of the PKK—his 15-year-old son. The PKK has a long tradition of using child soldiers in combat. "Every time I hear planes flying south, I cannot sleep because three pieces of my heart are in [the PKK stronghold of] Kandil," he says, referring to the mountainous part of northern Iraq that is home to the PKK's main base.

Turkish Prime Minister Ahmet Davutoglu insists that times have changed. "We have not gone back to the '90s. We would bring to book any illegal conduct against civilians," he said last month. "The PKK's only objective is to drag Turkey into a war between brothers." And it's true that life in the old city of Diyarbakir had been improving since the AKP came to power. The Armenian church of Surp Giragos, built in 1376 from the distinctive local black basalt stone, was abandoned in 1915 when the government expelled Diyarbakir's Armenians as suspected collaborators and marched them to exile and death in the 20th century's first genocide. But Turkey's recent prosperity, and the return of expatriate Armenians, helped get the church restored with government funds.

Another Armenian church, Surp Sarkis, was also restored by the Diyarbakir governorate as a carpet-weaving center designed to empower local

women. But both churches have been damaged by recent fighting. In a police special operation September 12 to 13, officers smashed the new wooden doors of Surp Sarkis using an industrial-strength jackhammer and shot out the church's chandeliers and windows. A nearby baker whose storefront was hit by shrapnel swears that the church was empty, but piles of bedding inside the building and bullet holes in nearby walls suggest that someone was firing back when the security forces showed up—and it probably wasn't the lady carpet weavers.

Nearby, the Hasirli district community hall has been torched twice by soldiers since the beginning of September, says Seviktek. Locals say the building was full of civilian Syrian Kurdish refugees from

TURKEY COMES SECOND ONLY TO CHINA IN THE NUMBER OF JOURNALISTS IN JAIL.

Kobane—but the courtyard shows signs of a major gun battle. Turkish forces even blasted a hole in the wall of a neighboring school to get a good angle of fire for heavy-caliber machine guns that have chewed up the flimsy brickwork of surrounding buildings. The troops made a special point of firing several bullets through the forehead of every stenciled portrait of Ocalan they came across.

"There is a real war going on here," says one elderly grocer, pointing to his refrigerators full of soda that have been riddled with bullets. "Tell the world. This is worse than Gaza."

Except that—thankfully—it's not. Outside the barricades of the self-declared independent areas, daily life in Diyarbakir continues more or less undisturbed. Old men smoke nargile pipes in tea houses around the 1,300-year-old Great Mosque, and the grill restaurants along the high banks of the Tigris River still boast a decent number of customers. In Kayapinar, the fancy part of Diyarbakir, middle-class families picnic in the parks. Even a crowd of some 2,000 people marching through the central business district in protest of recent killings proceeds with eerie decorousness. The police don't interfere even when young men begin chanting pro-Ocalan slogans. Technically, that's "spreading terrorist propaganda"—a criminal offense that could earn them years in prison.

Nursel Aydogan, an HDP member of the parliament, addresses the orderly crowd from the top of a smart, new U.S.-style campaign bus covered in smiling photos of party leaders. "This war is not ours, it is the palace's," she shouts, making a contemptuous reference to Erdogan. "But we will not play your games."

The problem for the HDP—and for the Kurds—is that barricading off towns unwittingly benefits the AKP. Erdogan has called for fresh elections in November in the hope that his party can regain a parliamentary majority. And while the question of whether the AKP deliberately escalated this war to discredit the HDP is in the realms of conspiracy theory, what's without doubt is that if thousands of Kurds refuse to allow ballot boxes and police officers into their neighborhoods on election day, the HDP's share of the vote could fall below the 10 percent threshold any party needs to win to have parliamentary representation. The PKK says it won't mount any operations between now and the elections, though it will defend itself if attacked. But many fear the authorities will cite security concerns as an excuse to disenfranchise thousands of Kurds.

What made the HDP's (so far) short spell in the parliament so revolutionary was not only the prospect of normalizing relations between Turkey's 60 million Turks and the country's Kurdish minority. It's also because the HDP stopped Erdogan's political juggernaut. Since 2002, Erdogan has called elections whenever he's faced a major political challenge—either from Turkey's ultra-secular military or from the judiciary that tried to stall some of the AKP's more Islamic-inspired legislation. Each time, the Turkish people gave Erdogan bigger majorities. In return, he delivered stability and prosperity, as Turkey's gross domestic product tripled in a decade and it became a respected regional powerhouse.

But at the same time, Erdogan has grown increasingly authoritarian. His pet project is to change the Turkish constitution to give himself more executive powers. At the same time, Turkey comes in second only to China in the number of journalists in jail. When PKK attacks killed 30 soldiers in early September, a club-wielding mob led by AKP Deputy Abdurrahim Boynukalin attacked the offices of the anti-government *Hürriyet* newspaper in Istanbul, threatening to kill the "traitor" journalists inside. "Fear and democracy cannot live side by side," the paper's editor-in-chief, Sedat Ergin, told critics. But when Ergin called on the government to provide security, the police assigned a prosecutor to probe the paper for "insulting the president" instead.

There are signs that Turkish public opinion is hardening against the Kurds. In the resort city of Alanya last month, protesters torched the HDP regional headquarters, while another group in Ankara tried to do the same to the party's national headquarters. Turkish television news showed angry mobs smashing the windows of buses bound for the largely Kurdish southeast. And security forces are becoming more aggressive. In early October, secretly filmed footage emerged showing a policeman beating a news cameraman, pointing his pistol at the man's head and



FROM TOP: ULAS YUNUS / TOSUN / EPA / HULAT SEVEN

threatening to shoot him if he didn't stop filming immediately. At the same time, images emerged on Twitter of a body, identified as the brother-in-law of a HDP lawmaker, being dragged down the street by its feet behind a police van in Sirnak.

"Take a good look at this photo," HDP leader Demirtas wrote as he retweeted the shocking image. "We will not forget." Turkey's prime minister, Davutoglu, refused to confirm the authenticity of the photo but said, "It is unacceptable to treat any corpse this way, even if it is a dead terrorist."

Police tactics for taking back the "independent" areas have been uncompromising but apparently effective. Cizre was surrounded in a massive show

MISSION CREEP: Istanbul saw several days of protests in July after a string of raids on Kurdish and leftist militants across the country, following an ISIS bombing in Suruc.

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of force in late September, with residents confined to their homes for eight days as police commandos went house to house hunting militants. At least 10 civilians were killed—including a month-old baby—as well as 40 PKK members, according to the Turkish regional governor. Police launched a similar operation in Silvan on October 2—two days after *Newsweek* visited—and killed 22 PKK fighters, according to police. It is not clear whether Ferman Amed, the rebel commander, was among the dead—his name is a common nom de guerre. He had told *Newsweek* that he was "ready to die and become a martyr, as long as it puts an end to the crime against humanity that is being perpetrated against the Kurds."

Unfortunately for the hopes of peace, almost all Kurdish activists have personally experienced abuse and imprisonment, which leaves a legacy of bitterness and distrust that requires superhuman wisdom to overcome. In early October, police raided the offices that house DIHA and several other Kurdish publishing companies, newspapers and radio stations, arresting 32 people and keeping them in custody overnight. It was a familiar experience for all concerned. "There is not a single person in this building who has not been in jail," says Pekgoz, DIHA's editor, who was jailed for over two years for membership in an illegal organization. "We are used to it."

The idea that violence is the only answer runs deep. "Every single concession that we have ever won has been gained by struggle. The Turkish state has never given us a single thing voluntarily," says Salih Sezgin, who was jailed for 20 years in 1980, when he was just 16. (He now contributes to the Kurdish newspapers that share the DIHA building.) Sezgin was sentenced to death and was told repeatedly he was about to be executed. Later, he served time alongside famous PKK martyrs who burned and starved themselves to death in protest of prison conditions. Sezgin, who learned to read and write in jail, has written two books about his experiences. "What you learn in jail is that those who give up the struggle lose," he says with a beatific smile. "And those who fight on and on till the end win."

But history suggests Sezgin is exactly wrong. Every political concession the Kurds have won has come as a result of peace, cease-fires and constructive political deal-making in Ankara. But the PKK's death-cult glorification of the nobility of martyrdom and its charismatic, Che Guevara-like symbolism is proving difficult to erase. And until politicians stop using the cycle of violence to their own ends, boys like Vedat will continue to show up on street corners carrying not only their fathers' Kalashnikovs but also their elders' endless, implacable sense of victimhood. **N**





NEW WORLD



WILDLIFE

HEMP

INNOVATION

SPACE

ENVIRONMENT

STARTUPS

GOOD SCIENCE

ONLY YOUR BRAIN CAN PREVENT RESIDENTIAL FIRES

A new, entirely nontoxic flame retardant is derived from dopamine


FLEXING: Mussels secrete a mucus-like “glue” made of dopamine that has many useful applications, including retarding flames.

IN AMERICA, it’s impossible to avoid flame retardants. They are so ubiquitous that babies are born with the chemicals in their blood. They are also all over car seats, mattresses, cribs, strollers and just about anything else with foam upholstery. A Duke University study in 2014 found flame retardants in the blood of every child it tested, and American women’s breast milk contains 75 times the level of flame retardant of that found in women in Europe, where some of the chemicals are banned. Exposure has been linked to cancer, preterm birth, lower IQ and attention problems in children. Women with higher levels in their blood take longer to get pregnant, and animal studies have linked the chemicals to lower fertility in men. The U.S. does not regulate flame retardants’ use, though the Environmental Protection Agency is considering it.

In September, researchers at the University of Texas at Austin (UT) published their discovery of a flame retardant that is nontoxic and won’t

accumulate in the bodies of people who come in contact with it. It’s made from dopamine—the neurotransmitter in our brains associated with reward and pleasure. The researchers took their cue from marine mussels, who secrete a mucus-like “glue” made of dopamine that allows them to stick to nearly any surface. The “glue” is nontoxic, making it attractive for uses in the body, like closing incisions without stitches.

Christopher Ellison, an associate engineering professor at UT, and his team found that the dopamine-based coating performs wonderfully as a fire retardant, is simple to make and is widely available. The polydopamine bonds so well to foam that it won’t leach out into the environment, as the current chemicals do so easily. He hopes the product will be available in three to five years.

Ellison has a young child and says being a parent drove his research. “These are toys that they’re putting in their mouths,” he says of kids, “things that they are sleeping on.” 

BY

ZOË SCHLANGER

 @zoeschlanger



ACCIDENTALLY ON PORPOISE

The lucrative Chinese market for a rare fish bladder is leading to the destruction of the California Gulf harbor porpoise

A SMALL fiberglass boat rocks on the surface of the water a few hundred yards from shore about 100 miles down Baja California from the U.S.-Mexico border. Two men in yellow slickers and rubber boots stand in the boat, pulling a loosely woven net from the water with their hands. Tangled in the gillnet are four dull silver fish about 5 feet long, each weighing more than 100 pounds. Known as totoaba, these fish live only in the upper Gulf of California, and are considered an endangered species by the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN), Mexico and the U.S. Since 1976, their trade has been prohibited under the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora.

And yet the fishermen cut open each fish, remove the swim bladder—a gas-filled organ that helps the fish control its depth—and toss the rest overboard. They may harvest 100 totoaba bladders tonight and earn anywhere from \$3,000 to \$10,000, depending on current market prices.

Buyers dry these bladders and ship them to markets in Hong Kong, where the price for the flat, yellowish, dinner-plate-sized organs sometimes goes as high as six figures. The Chinese buy them as gifts to cement business relationships, for use in traditional banquet dishes or to eat for their supposed medicinal and nutritional benefits. Totoaba bladders are a substitute for those of the giant yellow croaker (aka Chinese bahaba), which

was fished nearly to extinction decades ago.

The fishing net in Baja this night also contains a short, smooth mammal with a dark mouth and dark eyes—a Gulf of California harbor porpoise, better known as the vaquita. This species lives only in these waters, and its population was likely never large; the first official survey in 1997 estimated it at 567, a number scientists suspect already reflected a significant decline due to changes in Colorado River inflows and fishing activity. The IUCN considers it critically endangered, and the U.S. has listed it as federally endangered since 1985. The biggest threat is totoaba fishing: Vaquita become snared in gillnets set for totoaba and drown. In the past three years, as illegal fishing activity has increased, so has the rate of decline of their population—30 to 85 individuals are killed in nets each year.

In 2008, a survey by the International Committee for the Recovery of the Vaquita (CIRVA in Spanish) estimated the vaquita population at 245. Contemporary analysis of acoustic monitoring and long-term trends officially put today's number at fewer than 100, although many scientists believe that it could actually be below 50. Throughout October and November, scientists from the U.S. National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration's Southwest Fisheries Science Center and Mexico's National Institute of Ecology and Climate Change are conducting another population survey to try to

BY
MELISSA GASKILL
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BAD NEIGHBOR POLICY: The endangered harbor porpoise, which only lives in the Gulf of California, is being killed as collateral damage in the hunt for the bladders of an endangered fish that shares these same waters.

figure out the actual number.

On this night, that number drops by one. While the Baja fishermen didn't intend to catch the vaquita, it drowned in their net. They toss the carcass back into the sea.

Efforts to save the totoaba and vaquita stretch from Mexican fishing villages through border crossings and U.S. ports, to airports, docks and markets in Hong Kong. It's a daunting task, pursued by conservation organizations such as Greenpeace, CIRVA scientists and both the U.S. and Mexican governments. In 2005, Mexico established a vaquita refuge—an area of the

THE MARKET PRICE FOR TOTOABA BLADDERS SOMETIMES GOES AS HIGH AS SIX FIGURES.

Gulf where fishing with gillnets was prohibited. This past April, Mexican President Enrique Peña Nieto expanded the gillnet exclusion to a 5,000-square-mile area for two years. During that time, scientists and fishermen hope to

develop vaquita-safe fishing gear such as small trawl nets, and government agencies will work on alternative ways for locals to earn income.

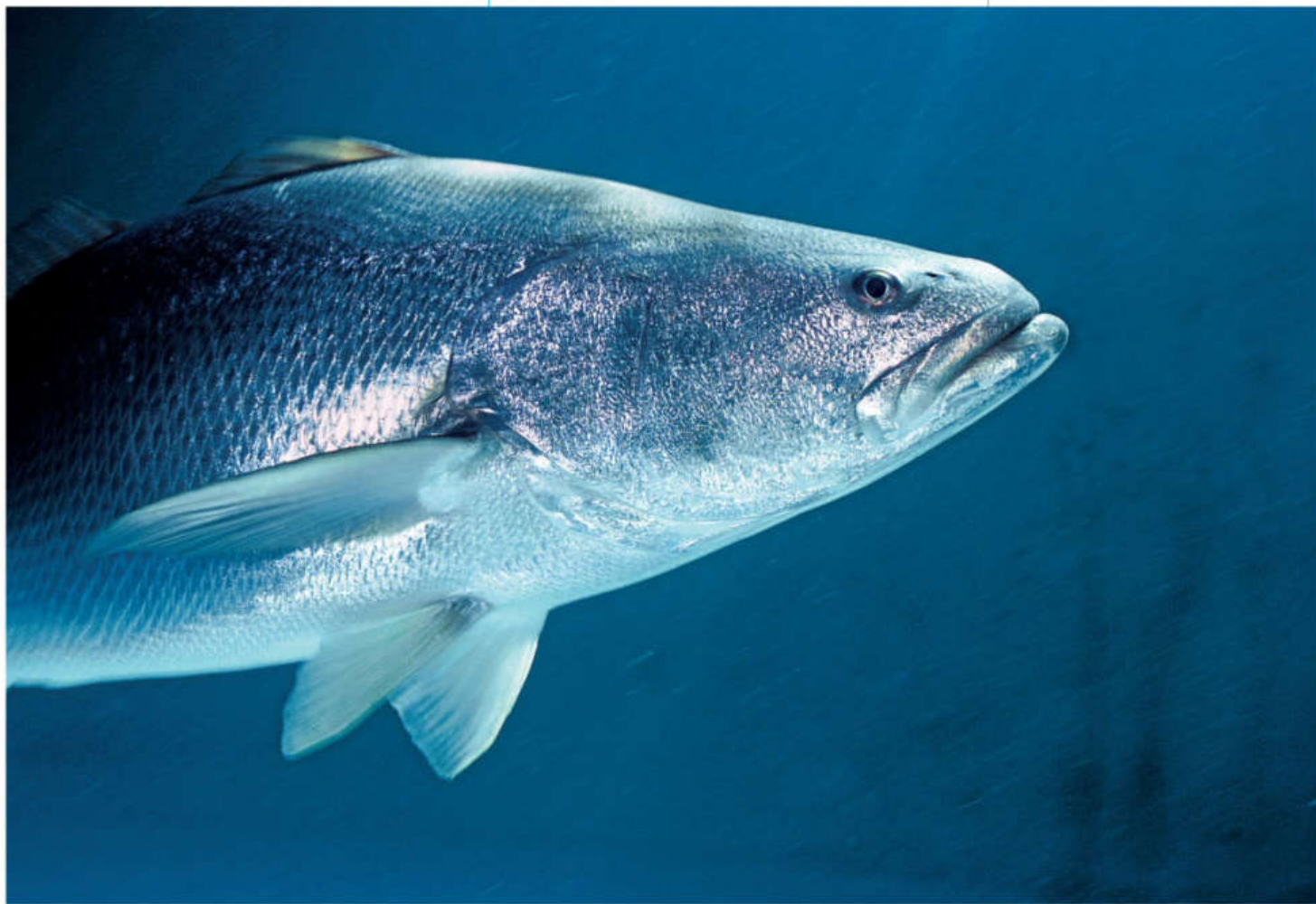
But stopping the illegal and lucrative totoaba trade is widely recognized as the critical move required to save the vaquita. In February and April, Greenpeace undercover operations and some 70 dried seafood shops in Hong Kong confirmed at least 13 sold totoaba bladders from Mexico. Investigators spent time establishing relationships with shopkeepers, says Gloria Chang, a Greenpeace project leader in Hong Kong and coordinator of the effort. "They showed us the product right away. When we asked if they could help us take it to mainland China, which would be another act of smuggling,

they said there were ways to do that. It was quite obvious that the traders were not worried about regulations," she says. "They did know it is illegal and from an endangered species and said that is one reason for its high price. But they also know that the government is loose in regulating, that it is rare for the government to investigate."

In 2013, U.S. customs intercepted about 700 pounds of dried bladders crossing into the country from Mexico at the Calexico border in California. But Andy Read, a marine biologist at Duke University, says eliminating such a lucrative trade will be very difficult. There are species that Mexican fishermen can legally target with methods other than gillnets, he explains, "but from the perspective of a Mexican fisherman,

UNLUCKY CHARM:
The dried bladder
of a totoaba is a
symbol of good
fortune in China,
and can go for
thousands of dol-
lars on the black
market there.

RICHARD HERRMANN/MINDEN PICTURES/NEWSCOM





there is enormous incentive to set nets illegally.”

So it is no surprise that during a 10-day patrol in July, the Greenpeace vessel *Esperanza* located 10 illegal gillnets along 50 miles of coastline in the northern Gulf of California. The nets, easily spotted by observers on the vessel, were removed by the Procuraduría Federal de Protección al Ambiente, Mexico’s environmental police force.

Environmental activists say this independent patrol shows that the Mexican government’s enforcement efforts are not enough. Silvia Diaz, campaign manager for Greenpeace Mexico, says that while those efforts look good on paper, little has changed on the ground or in the water. “The Mexican government announced all these measures, using the Navy fast boats and drones, to tell the world and the media that protecting the vaquita is important,” she says. “But there are only two people to patrol 5,000 square miles. Two people can’t do the job.” The *Esperanza* found nets left out in the open during the day, which shows that lawbreaking fishermen aren’t taking the government seriously, Diaz points out.

Because gillnets were previously used to legally harvest shrimp and other fish, the Mexican government pledged more than \$30 million to compensate fishermen affected by the ban. Each receives about \$460 per month. Ramón Franco Diaz, president of one of the fishing cooperatives in San Felipe and a fisherman for 40 years, says the government compensation is enough to support his family and he has stopped fishing. Leaders of several other cooperatives also agreed to the ban, he says, but the nets found on the patrol indicate that the illegal totoaba harvest continues.

Cracking down at the other end could prove easier. “We are talking about an illegal business, not something that is in a gray area,” says Greenpeace’s Chang. She ticks off ways to put an end to the totoaba trade: more inspections at the market level, in dried seafood markets and other likely places, to signal to traders that the government is watching; international cooperation to target smuggling groups; and clamping down on the freewheeling atmosphere in Hong Kong. “It is such a free trading port, it is easy for any product to get in and out,” she says. “[Local] government officials don’t want the international trading community to think Hong Kong puts too much regulation and customs on trade, but officials need to realize that this atmosphere is being abused by smugglers.” Totoaba bladders

aren’t the only illegal animal products smuggled through Hong Kong; the trade in ivory and rhino horns there is also robust.

Since the Greenpeace investigation results were released, she adds, Hong Kong’s Agriculture, Fisheries and Conservation Department has conducted its own inspections and sent evidence to its Department of Justice. She is hopeful that legal prosecution will follow. “Once a trader is prosecuted for smuggling bladders, it will give a strong signal to the rest of the traders.

“Hong Kong authorities have the power to shut this market down,” Chang adds. “If they don’t, they will be responsible for pushing the vaquita to extinction.”

Greenpeace Mexico’s Diaz says loss of the species would be a loss to all of Mexico, a country known for its rich biodiversity. “This is the cutest marine mammal in the world, the smallest porpoise and the most endangered. It could be a

“THIS IS THE CUTEST MARINE MAMMAL IN THE WORLD, THE SMALLEST PORPOISE AND THE MOST ENDANGERED.”

source of pride for Mexico to protect it and save it, or a source of shame if it goes extinct.”

The vaquita population survey cruise ends December 3. CIRVA will then analyze the data and issue a new population estimate by May 1, 2016. Whatever the number, Duke University’s Read remains optimistic, in part because populations of other mammals have recovered from very low numbers. “At one point, there may have been as few as 20 elephant seals, and now we are awash in them,” he notes. “Thanks to extensive efforts on the part of Mexico and the U.S., they recovered. We hope to pull out the same kind of bottom-of-the-ninth, two outs and two strikes with the vaquita.” **N**



THE UNSMOKABLE GRASS

Kentucky is turning to multipurpose hemp to save its flagging farms

THE SHELL FARMS & Greenhouses is an expansive 1,000-acre property in Garrard County, 37 miles south of Lexington, Kentucky. The five-generation family farm is operated by 31-year-old Giles Shell and his 60-year-old father, Gary. The two are whizzes at making ornamental flowers flourish, and like most farmers in the area, the family has grown tobacco for years.

In late June, the younger Shell stood outside one of six greenhouses on the farm and held up a yellowed tobacco plant with limp rootstock. The Shells know how to save sickly tobacco plants like this one, but they don't want to anymore. "I'm hoping it's our last crop," Shell says.

Along the winding back roads of Central Kentucky's bluegrass country, horses and cows graze on lush plains. For decades, tobacco helped farmers here keep their families clothed and fed. But that's changing. Tobacco production facilities have slowly migrated to North Carolina, South Carolina and Tennessee due to consolidation within the industry, which has resulted in an ever-shrinking demand for the crop in Kentucky. There's a replacement crop starting to come in, though: The Shell greenhouses that once nurtured thousands of tobacco plants are now home to 3,200 industrial hemp plants.

It's been close to 70 years since anyone in Kentucky—or anywhere in the U.S.—attempted to legally cultivate industrial hemp in massive quantities. But today, the Shells and other skilled farmers are again taking up the cash crop, under the auspices of the five-year pilot Industrial Hemp

Research Program, established by James Comer, Kentucky's commissioner of agriculture, who vets and licenses farmers in the state.

Shifting gears so dramatically hasn't been easy. The biggest problem is the learning curve: Hemp isn't tobacco, meaning it differs from the crop farmers in the area are most familiar with. A major component of the pilot project has involved figuring out the optimal way to make the plant flourish in a much rainier environment than California or Colorado, where most cannabis is currently grown. Farmers have experimented with a number of techniques: covering the beds to prevent over-watering (as you would, for example, with tomatoes) and growing cuttings in flower pots (as you do with ornamental flowers).

And there's another undeniable challenge: Industrial hemp is really just a few genetic tweaks away from marijuana, and outsiders often don't know one from the other. "When the stuff really starts to flower, it has the same look and smell as marijuana. That's why we have security" to contend with potential plant thieves, says Shell.

The difference between the two *Cannabis sativa* plants is the level of tetrahydrocannabinol (THC), the psychoactive chemical compound in the plant that's responsible for causing the high. In order for cannabis to be considered industrial hemp, it must contain THC levels of less than 0.3 percent; any more and the plant has officially crossed over into weed territory.

Currently, all *Cannabis sativa*—whether grown

BY
JESSICA FIRGER
[@jessfirger](https://twitter.com/jessfirger)

HEMP UNIVERSITY:
Kentucky's
Industrial Hemp
Research Program
provides resources
for hemp-farming
operations,
like this one at
Western Kentucky
University's Bowling
Green farm.

to ease chronic pain, get stoned or make rope—is a Schedule I controlled substance, a result of the Controlled Substances Act passed by Congress in 1970, though state marijuana laws have changed some of the classifications at local levels. This is viewed as unfortunate by not only marijuana activists but also many in the agriculture industry, including Comer. He hopes to single-handedly turn industrial hemp into Kentucky's No. 1 cash crop—and in the process, breathe new life into family farms that have lost millions of dollars with the fall of the tobacco industry.

Most industrial hemp is grown in China. With the right processing methods, the highly versatile plant can provide several notable revenue streams. Cannabidiol (CBD), a chemical compound in the plant, can be extracted from the leaves, blossoms and stems for medicinal and nutraceutical purposes. Cannabis oil derived from cold-pressing seeds is a healthful alternative to the oils sitting on most kitchen shelves, and it is already used in a number of cosmetic and beauty

products. Other genetic variants of the plant are cultivated to produce fiber that can substitute for cotton, wood and plastic—a more sustainable way to make everyday products ranging from T-shirts to particleboard and even car dashboards.

And then there's the potential for food. Hemp seed—high in fiber, antioxidants, omega-3s and protein—has a mild, nutty taste akin to flax. With the right marketing, it could become the industry's next superfood. It would also make for nutrient-packed animal feed.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN'S INTIMATE FRIENDS, THE SPEED FAMILY, WERE HEMP FARMERS IN KENTUCKY.





Kentucky has a long, but mostly forgotten, history of hemp farming. The Speed family, intimate friends of Abraham Lincoln, were hemp farmers in the state, as was Henry Clay, the 19th-century statesman. Kentucky led the U.S. industrial hemp business until the end of the Civil War, when production of the crop declined and was generally replaced by tobacco. The Marihuana Tax Act of 1937 put the kibosh on all production and sales of cannabis, including industrial hemp, but the crop saw a rapid resurgence during World War II. Hemp fiber became essential to produce military necessities such as uniforms and parachutes. The U.S. Department of Agriculture launched its national “Hemp for Victory” program, which provided seeds and draft deferments to farmers. In 1942, farmers planted 36,000 acres of hemp seed. An informational film from that year funded by the Department of Agriculture noted that “hemp grows so luxuriantly in Kentucky that harvesting is sometimes difficult.”

With backing from Senator Rand Paul, Comer’s proposed legislation—Senate Bill 50—passed in 2013. It created a regulatory framework for farmers to legally grow hemp in the state. In addition, Paul and Comer were able to get a provision added to the federal Farm Bill that legalized hemp production in states like Kentucky that had programs set up to grow the crop. President Obama signed the bill in 2014.

Though state and federal lawmakers support the efforts, Comer says it hasn’t been easy for Kentucky’s agriculture department or any of the farmers in the pilot program. Last year was the first for Kentucky’s pilot program, but it yielded only 33.4 acres of industrial hemp in the state. The farmers were capable of growing much more, but the U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration has made it challenging, says Comer. The DEA’s cannabis eradication program provides funding to local law enforcement to form a SWAT team of “cowboys flying around in helicopters.” They have been known to sweep through private farms to confiscate the plants and even to

mistake okra for marijuana.

Despite all this, the project has nearly doubled its hemp production this year, and it employs at least 500 people in the state as a result. Comer says he hopes farmers will soon be able to grow at least 10,000 acres. “We want to be the Silicon Valley for industrial hemp,” he says. The state’s backcountry has already become fertile ground for startups like GenCanna Global, which has partnered with six local farms to grow hemp for CBD.

Matty Mangone-Miranda, GenCanna’s president and chief executive officer, and Chris Stubbs, its chief scientific officer, conducted early work to cultivate low-THC, high-CBD cannabis plants formerly called “hippie’s disappointment”—since they don’t cause a high—and now known as Charlotte’s Web. It’s produced by the Realm of Caring Foundation as a dietary supplement under federal law and as medical cannabis for sale in states that allow for its use. The story of Charlotte’s Web first came to puparing to sign “do not resuscitate” forms for their daughter when a friend connected them with the founders of the company, and the girl gained nearly complete seizure control once she started ingesting the CBD oil.

After the CNN documentary ran, Realm of Caring couldn’t keep up with the resulting demand, says Mangone-Miranda. It still has thousands of families on its waiting list. “The lack of supply of oil was a huge problem,” he explains. “For me, the logical solution was that we needed a massive, sustainable and reliable

“GROWING HEMP IS MORE
THAN JUST WORK—IT IS A WAY
WE CAN HELP THOSE IN NEED.”

supply.” To solve the problem, GenCanna has invested in Kentucky’s farms with the goal of planting 200,000 plants that are genetically similar to Charlotte’s Web in 2015.

Now GenCanna has an increasing list of companies looking to purchase CBD oil to develop novel products that have absolutely nothing to do with treating rare seizure disorders or making healthy granola. The company has received proposals for CBD-infused sports drinks, wine, beer, Listerine-type fresh breath strips and transdermal patches.

Over the summer, GenCanna and Atalo

TEA STICK PARTY: Senator Rand Paul of Kentucky has thrown his weight behind a plan to return hemp to its historical position as one of the Bluegrass State's biggest cash crops.



Holdings—another hemp cooperative—purchased a 147-acre former tobacco seed development and breeding facility in Winchester, Kentucky. Along with storage, processing, formulating and shipping buildings, their new Hemp Research Campus includes an over-8,000-square-foot laboratory with breeding rooms. The two companies hope the Hemp Campus will serve as an incubator for the industry, says Steve Bevan, GenCanna's chief operating officer. "With the Hemp Campus, we think we can bring more and smarter people here," he says. GenCanna and other companies hope to plant their flags before imminent changes in federal and state cannabis regulations allow Big Pharma to enter the picture. "They're going to throw money in a big way, so we want to understand as much as possible because we have a belief that this stuff is food."

There is currently a bill in the U.S. Congress that would reclassify hemp from a narcotic to an agricultural crop. If the law were to pass, it would minimize the red tape for established hemp farming programs. For example, says Comer, "we won't have to send staff to a field to do GPS coordinates and then get that information to the state police and all this bureaucracy."

Despite the regulations and red tape, industrial hemp has already been a saving grace for some of the farmers in the pilot program. The Halverson family, for example, were preparing to shutter their operation, which primarily grew ornamental plants, until GenCanna approached

them. The company offered to pay the rent for their property, cover all expenses upfront—including a refurbishing of the greenhouse—and provide salaries to the family and a staff of more than 20. One condition: They would turn all their energies to cultivating hemp and work with GenCanna to learn how to grow this complicated plant and find a way to breed the best version of the plant, one that is stronger and more aggressive.

In the beginning, the Halversons were skeptical. The family are Sabbath-keeping Christians, and it was hard to know what their neighbors would think. But by that time, the family had run out of money and options other than to close the farm. So they went for it.

At first, they were the subject of the weekly gossip at church. "You get to finishing some choral music, and then the conversation after is, 'Are you guys really growing that stuff?'" says Mikkel Halverson. "We feel that growing hemp is more than just work—it is a way we can help those in need. It is part of a healing ministry." Now the Halversons' 36,000-square-foot greenhouse overflows with thousands of hemp plants.

Halverson knows he could probably make a lot more money if he grew the type of cannabis that gets people high, but his family have decided they will not grow a version of hemp that could potentially be smoked, no matter how skilled they become at farming the crop. "I think God made all of the plants," he says. "But we're going to stick with CBD hemp." ■





DOWNTIME

MOVIES

ART

TELEVISION

BOOKS

TRAVEL

MUSIC

TATE EXPECTATIONS

London's Tate Modern shows its ambition by rebooting its famed Turbine Hall series and getting ready to open a major new extension

+ MODERN MAN: Artist Cruzvillegas's work, *Empty Lot*, will be on display at the Tate Modern's famed Turbine Hall—marking the end of a long renovation period that saw the hall closed since 2012.

WITH LESS than two weeks to go before his new sculpture went on show in Europe's most spectacular exhibition space—the cavernous Turbine Hall of London's Tate Modern gallery—Mexican artist Abraham Cruzvillegas seemed remarkably unconcerned that construction workers in fluorescent high-visibility vests and hard hats were still piecing the work together. “Duchamp said his work was definitively unfinished, and that’s how I think of mine as well,” says Cruzvillegas, referring to Marcel Duchamp, the French-American conceptual artist, to whom he is often compared.

Even with the work having gone on public display on October 13—resuming the sequence of headline-making exhibitions in the Turbine Hall that began in 2000 and paused in October 2012—Cruzvillegas's *Empty Lot* is not finished. The sculpture consists of a series of earth-filled triangular boxes arranged on two large triangular

ramps on scaffolding. One of the ramps slopes forward from the balcony to meet the floor of the Turbine Hall as it rises toward the entrance. The other ramp rises toward the wall of this former power station at the back. The boxes are filled with soil, which Cruzvillegas and the project's curator, Mark Godfrey, collected from different parts of London, including Hyde Park, the Horniman Museum in South London, Buckingham Palace and the gardens of Godfrey's children's school.

The plots of earth will be watered throughout the exhibition, although Cruzvillegas has not seeded them with crops or flowers. Godfrey raised the possibility that visitors might “seed-bomb” the boxes, casting handfuls of seed that might take root and grow, but Cruzvillegas seems more interested in what the soil might already contain.

BY
EDWARD PLATT



The original series of installations in the Turbine Hall, which were sponsored by Unilever, ran for 12 years from the opening of Tate Modern in 2000 and produced many memorable works, from Louise Bourgeois's creepy opening display of giant spiders, to popular successes like Olafur Eliasson's giant indoor sun and Ai Weiwei's carpet of porcelain sunflower seeds. People would come to lie on the floor and bask in the comforting light of Eliasson's manufactured sun or shoot down the five giant Carsten Höller installations in the space. Thirty million people saw works exhibited in the Unilever series, and they helped establish Tate Modern as Britain's pre-eminent venue for modern and contemporary art. The exhibits became so central to the perception of contemporary art that since they ended in 2012, when the Anglo-German artist Tino Seghal filled it with performers and storytellers in a piece called *These Associations*, the British and European art worlds have felt incomplete.

The new series of installations inaugurated by *Empty Lot* coincides with significant changes at the Tate organization, which also includes London's Tate Britain as well as two other galleries in Liverpool and St. Ives. Two years ago, Tate Britain, the organization's original home on the north bank of the Thames, 2 miles upstream from Tate Modern, completed a \$68 million renovation, and at Tate Modern work has nearly finished on an extension that will add 60 percent more display space—much needed in an institution that is half the size of the Museum of Modern Art (MoMA) in New York but attracts twice as many visitors. The Swiss architects Jacques Herzog and Pierre de Meuron, who oversaw the transformation of the main building, have designed the new wing. Some parts of the development, including the transformation of the former power station's cylindrical tanks into what Tate calls the “world's first museum spaces dedicated to live art and performance,” have

+
SOME ASSEMBLY REQUIRED: *Empty Lot* is part of a sequence of works Cruzvillegas calls *autoconstrucción*—like *The Autoconstrucción Suites 2013*, pictured, in Minneapolis—which has been ongoing for 10 years.

already been completed, and a brick-clad building called Switch House will open next June.

The Turbine Hall was closed to visitors while the work was going on. High above its sloping floor, a new bridge connects level four of the existing galleries to the extension, and a connecting door has been installed in the south wall. Hyundai Motor Company has signed up to fund the new series of exhibits until 2025. The deal represents the longest initial commitment from a corporate sponsor in Tate's history and is part of its attempt to compete with other major museums, like MoMA and the Museum of Contemporary Art in Los Angeles. If Tate is edging ahead—the influential art magazine *Art Review* listed Tate's director, Sir Nicholas Serota, as No. 1 on its 2014 Power 100 list, noting that no other museum “can match Tate's international reach and institutional authority”—then that is partly due to the scale and prestige of the reopened Turbine Hall.

Cruzvillegas seems undaunted by the responsibility of being the artist asked to reopen the sequence. Part of his calm may stem from *Empty Lot*'s being the latest part of a long sequence of works he calls *autoconstrucción*, which he translates as “self-construction” or “construction of the self.” Autoconstrucción has taken many different forms in the 10 years that he has been making it—sculpture, video, music and installation—but it is always an attempt to explore the nature of life in Ayusco, the district of Mexico City where he grew up.

His parents settled in Ayusco in the 1960s and attempted to make a home on its inhospitable volcanic terrain, despite the fact that settlement was illegal. “No one thought anyone would be able to live there, but they started constructing houses in any way they could, with whatever materials they could find,” he says. His family was poor, but Cruzvillegas says that “in a way, we were richer, because we were able to construct a social fabric in which the capital was not money but solidarity.” He talks about his parents with great affection, but he says he is not attempting to re-create their lives or offer a literal representation of life of Ayusco. Instead, he is trying to recover the experience of a particular moment in history when the promise of progress and development collapsed, and people were forced to improvise. “What I'm trying to understand is how all energy can take a different shape in space, in different places and different times, and using different materials.”



The explanation makes sense of the curious hybrid of *Empty Lot*, which looks like a cross between a South American favela and a vegetable patch, with its raised beds of London earth made from rough wooden boards and its lamps fashioned from material that Cruzvillegas found on the streets or in skips. Yet the local material that fascinates him most is the scaffolding that holds up its angled platforms. “I have said many times that autoconstrucción was scaffolding, but I meant it as a metaphor—and now it's not,” he says. “It is real. I'm very happy about this work because it makes my metaphors visible: It's a synthesis of all my work in the most simple way.”

He says it is “a nice coincidence” that the rear wall of Herzog and de Meuron's extension is also clad in scaffolding, which both conceals and reveals its shape, for it emphasizes the fact that

TATE MODERN IS HALF THE SIZE OF THE MUSEUM OF MODERN ART IN NEW YORK BUT ATTRACTS TWICE AS MANY VISITORS.

the installation in the Turbine Hall is not just a work of art but an extension of the ever-changing fabric of the city, and he looks forward to the day *Empty Lot* is taken down. He likes the thought that the boxes of earth with their unknown cargo will be returned to London's parks and gardens, and its scaffolding will be reabsorbed into the city, then remade in a different form. The provisional nature of the sculpture fills with him hope—“the hope of becoming myself,” as he puts it—but he does not want to impose an interpretation on the work that will inaugurate the reopened Turbine Hall: He wants it to be open-ended enough to mean different things to each one of the millions of people who will see it. “We are not giving it a specific interpretation,” he says. “Anything is welcome.” ■



VENUS IN FILMS

Reed Morano's directorial debut, *Meadowland*, challenges Hollywood sexism with a new partnership and a harrowing story

AFTER REED MORANO'S father died of a heart attack, it was as if her world had morphed into a scene from Rod Serling's *The Twilight Zone*. "It didn't feel like real life or the real world," says the filmmaker, 38. Grief-stricken, Morano, then 18, attempted to cope with the loss of her parent and confidant—the one who first gave her a camera, encouraged her to go to film school and, although he wasn't in the industry, hoped to make movies with her one day. "What I found kind of interesting when my dad passed away was that everyone in my family had their own unique reaction: Some people in my family shut down, stopped eating," she tells *Newsweek*.

Morano says she began doing "bad things," including "a lot of drugs," after his death. "You get to a point where you feel so betrayed by the world that you feel like, Fuck everything—there's no repercussions for anything I do." Her most extreme outburst occurred a year after his funeral, while sitting in her family's restaurant and reminiscing about her father with his best friend. She says she was suddenly struck with an acute sadness, got up and locked herself in the back office. Then, without a word, she began to tear the place apart—toppling filing cabinets, ripping papers, knocking things off the walls.

That real-world trauma from 20 years ago informed Morano's recent directorial debut,

the gripping film *Meadowland*, which left many grown men in tears at its Tribeca Film Festival premiere this past April (it hits theaters on October 16 and video on demand October 23).

Meadowland traces the unraveling of a couple, Sarah (Olivia Wilde) and Phil (Luke Wilson), as they grieve over the disappearance of their young son, Jessie (Casey Walker), who was abducted at a gas station on a family road trip. He goes missing within the first five minutes, and the remaining hour and a half of *Meadowland* deals with the aftershocks of this cataclysmic event, as Jessie's whereabouts and life remain in limbo. "[*Meadowland*] in a way deals with having to face that you're never going to see someone again, imagining the unthinkable and unimaginable," Morano says. "Nobody wants to do that."

Phil, a New York City cop, comes across a memorial for someone who died alongside the highway while on patrol one night. He shuts off his car and gets out. Wordlessly, he begins to smash up the memorial, kicking over candles, crosses and cards until they are scattered in the dirt, just as young Morano had done in the back office as she grappled with her grief.

It's a hard scene to watch, but Morano isn't afraid to go to those places in her work. It's this willingness that's quickly made her one of film's most sought-after cinematographers, one Wilde

DARK ARTS:
Olivia Wilde and
Ty Simpkins in
Meadowland.
Morano initially
feared financing
would be hard to
come by, due to
the film's bleak
subject matter.

BY
PAULA MEJIA
@tenaciouspm



JOHN LAMPARSKI/WIREIMAGE/GETTY



describes as “easily the most agile camera operator I’ve ever worked with.” Before *Meadowland*, Morano was director of photography for the Sundance standout *Kill Your Darlings* and the idiosyncratic drama *The Skeleton Twins*. Currently, she’s the DP on HBO’s highly anticipated, Martin Scorsese-backed ’70s period piece *Vinyl*. Earlier this year, she was named woman of the year during the Fusion Film Festival of New York University’s Tisch School of the Arts.

Over oysters at a Brooklyn bar, Morano says her approach to filmmaking has been successful because she doesn’t “like making too many plans” and instead lets the actors’ intuition drive scenes. *Meadowland* was shot in just 22 days with little rehearsal, giving it spontaneity. It’s perhaps how the film is able to accurately portray grief as something dangerous, with the potential to turn people into unpredictable versions of themselves.

Meadowland’s production was also informed by other, more immediate matters of life and death. Before production began, Wilde—the movie’s lead actress and one of its producers—discovered she and fiancé Jason Sudeikis were going to have their first child. Pregnancy can be a scary prospect for an actress (and producer) who has just signed on to a new film—one that might threaten a movie and sometimes even a career.

Wilde was also worried that taking the time off would kill her burgeoning creative partnership with Morano. “I called Reed, and I said, ‘I don’t know how to tell you this...’” Wilde recalls. “I thought, Have I let her down? This is my new partner, and I’m gonna have to bow out and leave her?” Morano was instead thrilled with the news, telling her being pregnant was “perfect research” for the role and would give Wilde “deeper insight as to what it means to be a parent.”

Morano also had a profound experience of her own at about the same time. In April 2014, as the film found its financing, she underwent treatment for stage 2 squamous cell carcinoma—cancer of the base of the tongue. Two

months later, during the film’s pre-production, she found out she was in remission. Though she was still weak when shooting the film in September 2014—“My mouth was all fucked up, and all day long I was gargling Lidocaine”—she says, “I was happy to be doing it.”

“[Cancer] was another reference that I drew on to imagine what it would feel like to be in this dark place that Sarah’s in,” Morano says of the film’s main character. “All I wanted to do when I had cancer was get through the next five minutes without physical pain. And with Sarah and Phil, they’re just trying to get through the next five minutes without emotional pain.”

Wilde adds, “It was extraordinary to each be confronting life and death in such a literal and extreme way as we were putting the story together.”

The partnership between Morano and Wilde is unusual in Hollywood. When you think of silver-screen duos, it’s usually a bromance: the Coen brothers, Quentin Tarantino and Samuel L. Jackson, Martin Scorsese and Leonardo DiCaprio. Even brilliant female-male partnerships, such as Penelope Cruz and Pedro Almodóvar, or Woody Allen and Diane Keaton, often leave women relegated to the role of the muse, rather than an equal.

Of course, sexism has been Hollywood’s open secret since before the talkies. Women in all aspects of the film industry are paid less and have fewer opportunities than their male counterparts, and that difficulty is exacerbated

“WE HAVE TO GET MORE IMAGES OF FEMALES HOLDING THE CAMERA SO PEOPLE CAN GET USED TO THE IDEA THAT IT IS POSSIBLE.”

as women hit the dreaded age of 40. This past year, San Diego State University published a study revealing that women held a paltry 12 percent of leading roles in 2014’s top-earning films. The statistics for women working behind the scenes aren’t encouraging either. According to another study by San Diego State University, women made up just 23 percent of producers, 18 percent of editors and 7 percent of directors in the highest-grossing films of 2014. The numbers are even worse for women cinematographers, who make up just 5 percent of the field.



FROM TOP: REED MORANO; PAUL SARKIS


WONDER WOMEN: Wilde, also a producer on the film, and director Morano are a rare duo in Hollywood, where women make up only 23 percent of producers and 5 percent of cinematographers.



Morano knows this discrepancy well. She shows me a memo from the International Cinematographers Guild union meeting from which she had just come. It revealed that, in the union's East Coast chapter, a mere 13 women DPs reported their union status, compared with 347 men in the same region. The West Coast didn't fare much better: 53 female DPs were represented, as opposed to 1,115 men. Morano says it's partly due to stereotypes: "When [film] first started, cinematographers were men who were either dressed in suits or white lab coats. [Women] are not the image of who people see holding the camera," she says. "We have to get more images of females holding the camera so people can get used to the idea that it is possible."

Google "Reed Morano" and you'll get images of her casually wielding hefty cameras—several months pregnant, no less. "I actually carried a Panavision Platinum and a G2 when I was 7 months pregnant for a film called *Little Birds*, and the whole movie was handheld," she says.

"And we were shooting in the desert. That's a 35-millimeter camera. It's huge, probably at least 50, 55 pounds, and I did all my own operating. So when people say that women can't do that job...it's really laughable."

As the youngest of just 12 women in the prestigious American Society of Cinematographers (there are approximately 340 active members in the ASC), Morano can shrug off any negative comments, though she's spent much of her life grappling with loss and being something of an outsider in her industry. But it's these experiences that make her able to create a film like *Meadowland*, singular in its portrayal of grief—devoid of the melodrama and crying jags that often punctuate these stories (Sarah and Phil cry only once in the film). "I wanted people to feel wrecked after they watched it. Punched in the gut. I didn't want to make a wishy-washy crowd-pleaser; I wanted to make a movie that people couldn't stop thinking about for a few days," she says. "And would maybe call the people they love." 





NEVER TAKE IT EASY

Don Henley on making great music and getting robbed by Google

DON HENLEY must be enjoying the irony. When his band, the Eagles, turned out such lovely prairie poems as “Peaceful Easy Feeling” and “Lyn’ Eyes” in the ’70s, critics claimed they were as authentically down-home as the Beverly Hillbilies. Flash-forward four decades. With bombastic “bro-country” clogging the airwaves, Henley’s rural cred and his soulful tenor, still Dust Bowl dry, have proved to be winning and authentic enough to hit No. 1 on Billboard’s country chart this month. His latest solo effort, *Cass County*, is a harmonious mix of heartbreak, dazzling duet partners (Mick Jagger, Miranda Lambert, Merle

Haggard) and trenchant observations about aging. *Newsweek* spoke to Henley about this album, his career and the untapped power of TayTay.

Q

You’re a notorious perfectionist. I’m wondering about a song on the new record, “Waiting Tables.” It’s beautiful and relatively sparse. Did this or the other songs still go through painstaking recording, building and polishing?

A

I am not a perfectionist. That’s another misconception that’s been parroted for decades. I do think of myself as a craftsman, and I strive for

BY
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+
TO THE LIMIT:
Though he's had a
successful career
in music for over
four decades—first
with the Eagles,
then as a soloist—
Henley's latest
act finds him,
somewhat improb-
ably, on top of the
charts once more.

excellence. Like a woodworker, I try to make the best cabinet or the best table I can make. If some art gets created in the process, then so much the better. But my dad always taught me that if I was going to do anything, not to do it half-assed. So I make no apologies for how much time and effort I put into a song or an album project. A song like “Waiting Tables” sounds deceptively simple, but it isn’t. Oftentimes, what gets left out is just as important as what gets put in. There are thousands of little decisions that go into the process of writing and recording a song.

Q
The new song “Bramble Rose” is stunning for several reasons. Not the least of which is the rustic simplicity of the music. Also Mick Jagger sings the third verse in as moving, unaffected a way as we’ve heard from him in ages. Can you talk about the genesis of the song?

A
“Bramble Rose” was written by a fine singer-songwriter named Tift Merritt. It was the title of her 2002 debut album. I’d wanted to record that song ever since I heard it. But I had to figure out a way to set it apart from the original. So I decided to make it into a sort of musical theater piece—a trio of characters whose roles are somewhat ambiguous. Maybe it’s a love triangle, or maybe I’m the one-man Greek chorus observing the tribulations of the other two. Doesn’t really matter. I also knew that Miranda Lambert had to be the female lead, and it so happened that she knew and loved the song too. Then I decided that Mick would be the perfect choice for the last verse—the “mystery character.” Some people thought it was an off-the-wall choice, but if you think about it, there’s a lot of country influence in much of the material the Stones recorded between 1968 and mid-1972. At that point, they were immersing themselves in the music of the American South—particularly blues and country. Mick loved the song too, and I was thrilled when he agreed to sing on it. The unexpected bonus was the soulful harmonica part that he added—totally his idea. People tend to forget what a great harp player he is.

Q
Taylor Swift. Thoughts?

A
With her enormous popularity and power, she could become a very effective leader and a real champion for artists and songwriters if she would speak out more (as she did last summer) on behalf of those who are being treated unfairly by Apple, as well as Amazon, AOL, Yahoo and other online outlets and ISPs. And then there is the 800-pound gorilla, Google (owner of YouTube), that aids and abets the theft of copyrighted



works, 24/7. The Internet, as miraculous as it is, has a dark side (just ask newspaper, book and magazine publishers), and in some quarters it is being used and abused by unethical people who have a misguided “Robin Hood” complex. This is doing irreparable harm to the music business, the publishing business and the people, at all levels, who work in those fields. Part of the answer lies in Washington, D.C., and in Sacramento, California. Most artists, musicians and songwriters simply do not understand how government and legislation affect them, and that’s also part of the problem. But until the members of the creative community educate themselves, organize themselves into a cohesive unit and take action, their share of the pie will continue to dwindle, and that will have a chilling effect on the creation of new music and other types of art and literature.

“I HAVE SEVERAL MORE ALBUMS IN ME—ALL OF THEM DIFFERENT.”

Q
You’ve been quoted lately saying that the record business is over. You came into it at the right time and sold a ton of records. You’ve also been vocal about artists getting ripped off and not being promoted well enough by David Geffen. Are there any bright spots to the biz being irrevocably broken? Or is it just as sad an affair as us record buyers feel it is?

A
I don’t have the answer for that. An artist can still sell tons of records, but getting paid for them is a different story. I spent over a million dollars making *Cass County*, and I’ll be lucky if I break even. Fortunately, I did get into the business at the right time, and I still enjoy my work. However, I’ve told my kids that if they want to make music for fun and personal fulfillment, more power to them. But in terms of making a living, I’ve advised them to do something that can’t be digitized. **N**

REWIND

20
YEARS



OCTOBER 23, 1995

IN "LIP-SYNCHING THE
PRESIDENCY" BY JOE KLEIN

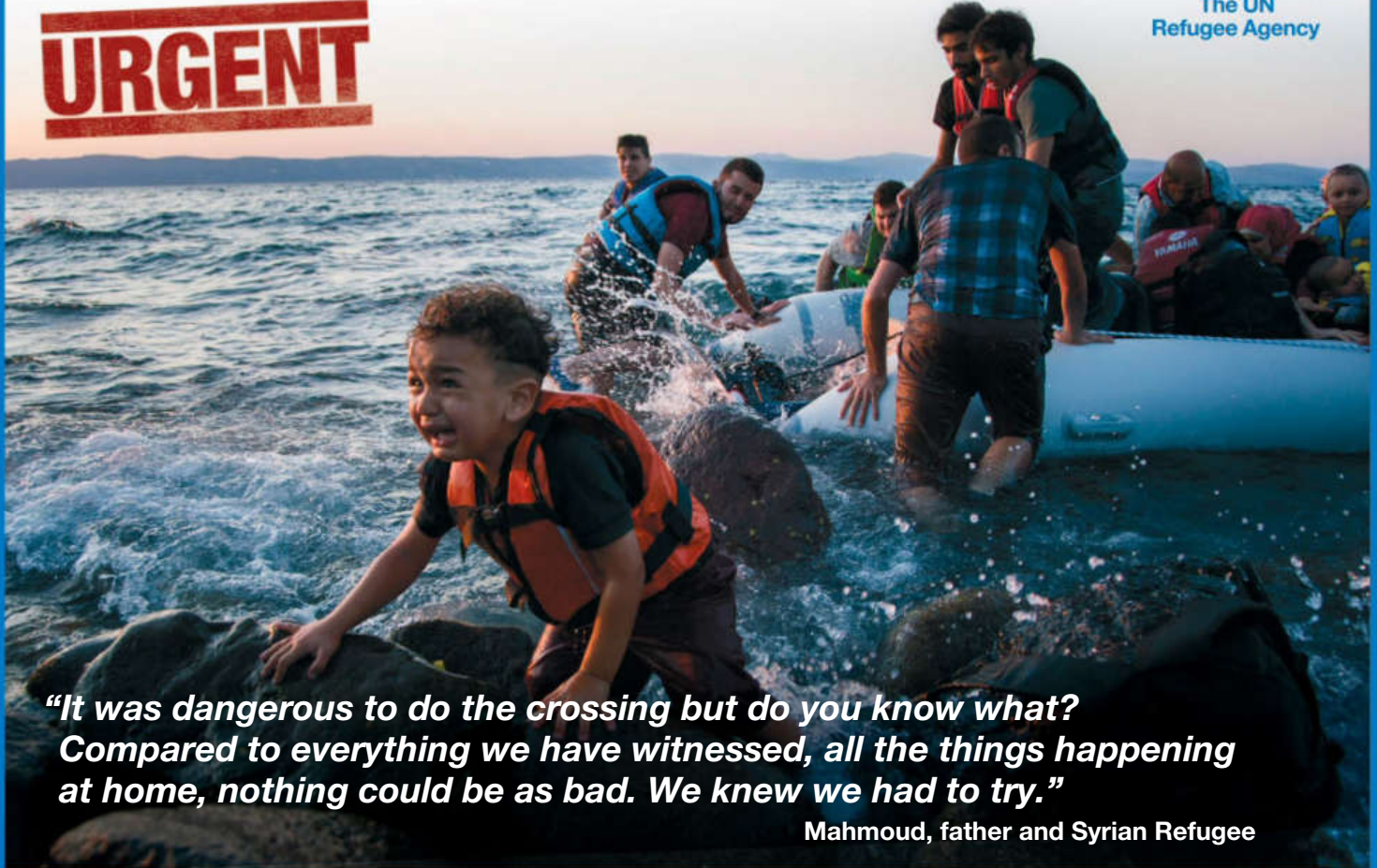
“The sloppy, hyperactive wonkiness that defined Clinton’s first two years in office has been supplanted by a sleek, tactical cunning. He has traded activism for

passivism. He gives the appearance of taking stands—for some sort of tax cut, some sort of welfare reform, some sort of balanced budget—but these are ploys, mirages; they exist only to undermine positions taken by Republicans. He doesn’t fight *for* anything substantive—except, of course, re-election.”

REFUGEE CRISIS IN EUROPE

FAMILIES FORCED TO FLEE THEIR HOMES

URGENT



"It was dangerous to do the crossing but do you know what? Compared to everything we have witnessed, all the things happening at home, nothing could be as bad. We knew we had to try."

Mahmoud, father and Syrian Refugee

Over 400,000 people have crossed the Mediterranean during 2015, undertaking unthinkable journeys from countries like Syria, that have been torn apart by war and persecution.

These families are fleeing for their lives, risking the treacherous sea and land crossings. Many having no choice but to board over-crowded, flimsy boats to give their children a chance of safety. For some, this desperate journey will be their last. Almost 3,000 people have drowned trying to reach safety in Europe. The crossing is dangerous but for many families making this journey is the only choice they feel they have.

UNHCR is on the ground providing life-saving assistance but we need your help.


You can help provide shelter, food, water and medical care to vulnerable families arriving in Europe.

With so many in need and as more continue to make this journey, your donation today is vital and will help UNHCR to save lives and protect families who have been forced to flee their homes.

\$120 can provide emergency rescue kits containing a thermal blanket, towel, water, high nutrient energy bar, dry clothes and shoes, to 4 survivors.



PLEASE GIVE WHAT YOU CAN TODAY. VISIT [DONATE.UNHCR.ORG](https://donate.unhcr.org)

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